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The Shape of Things

FRANCO'S EXECUTION OF CHRISTINO GARCIA and nine other Spanish Republican leaders who had fought with the *Maquis* against the Nazis represents a challenge to the democratic powers which they will ignore at their peril. In France, where the nature of that challenge is better understood than here or in Britain, the news produced a tremendous outburst of popular indignation. For the second time the Constituent Assembly voted for a diplomatic break with Spain, all parties, except for a minor rightist group, enthusiastically supporting the motion. Hitherto the continuance of relations has been excused on the ground that it made possible French intervention in behalf of Republican prisoners. The execution of the ten, however, in disregard of the repeated pleas of the French ambassador in Madrid, indicates the futility of the diplomatic approach. More than that, it appears as deliberate provocation of the French government, based on the assumption that France will not receive the support of Britain and the United States in any move against Spain. We hope this assumption proves ill founded. It ought to be clear by now that Franco is not perturbed by verbal spankings. Only a complete rupture of relations will sterilize this focus of fascist infection.

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WE HOPE FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN enjoys the rare distinction he conferred on himself by being the only one of the new cardinals from a non-fascist country to attend the state dinner given at the Franco embassy at Rome. The dinner was otherwise notable for the number of those who failed to attend. Of the thirty-two new cardinals, only seven showed up: the two Spaniards, the two Portuguese, the Vatican's Tedeschini, Spellman, and Antonio Cardinal Caggiano of Argentina. The other three new United States cardinals—Glennon of St. Louis, Mooney of Detroit, and Strich of Chicago—stayed away, as did James Cardinal McGuigan of Toronto. It is worth noting that, except for Tedeschini and the Iberians, none of the new European cardinals attended. Spellman's presence and the mild sensation it caused helped obscure an affair which constitutes a rather extraordinary rebuff for the Franco regime from Catholic quarters. The new Brazilian, Chilean, Peruvian, and Cuban cardinals, by absenting themselves, showed a political discretion Spellman would do well to emulate. The United States government, as he knows, is about to issue a Blue Book showing how closely Franco worked with the Axis during the war. But Spellman not only paid the Spanish dictator the honor of attending his strikingly unsuccessful little party in Rome but plans to be his guest in Madrid on his way home. The New York cardinal makes his debut, knee-deep in anti-democratic politics.

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OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR IN MANCHURIA at a moment when the final solution of the Chinese political crisis seemed imminent is a serious matter. Manchuria is the one area in the world where American and Russian interests obviously overlap. For reasons none too clear at this distance, the United States has committed itself to transporting Kuomintang troops into Manchuria, while the Russians are obstructing Chungking's efforts to consolidate its rule even though they have formally recognized its supremacy in the region. If Russia desires, it can put up a strong case, based upon historic, strategic, and economic considerations, for special rights in Manchuria. The Yalta agreement and the subsequent Sino-Soviet pact recognized these claims by granting it half interest in the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian railways together with a naval base at Port Arthur and a free port in Dairen. Whether Russia has claimed under this agreement half interest in the Japanese industries controlled by the South Manchurian railway is uncertain. It might have some legal basis for such a claim, but the moral basis is dubious. China's claim to these industries, on the other hand, rests on the prior Cairo document which clearly stated that all of Manchuria was to be restored to China. Russia can scarcely deny, moreover, that it failed to withdraw its troops by February 1. The Moscow agreement commits both Russia and the United States to a prompt removal of their forces, but if peace is to be restored this action should be preceded by an extension of the Kuomintang-Communist agreement to cover Manchuria.

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THE WAR RECORD OF WESTBROOK PEGLER clearly qualifies him for his current role of veterans' adviser. True, he was not in uniform, but as a civilian he did a powerful job for national morale. His approach was subtle. To win the right-thinking people to the war effort, he had to attack the Commander-in-Chief and Mrs. Roosevelt. To help speed production he hammered away at the villainy of labor leaders. Lest the joint war effort endanger our post-war preeminence, he issued repeated warnings against internationalist and Communist trends in the administrative policy. His current attack on Charles Bolté and the American Veterans' Committee of which he is chairman is simply a continuation of Pegler's wartime mission. For AVC shows dangerous New Deal tendencies and there's a Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., on its planning committee. AVC takes a reasonable stand on labor issues. AVC is an active agitator for such elementary rights as jobs and decent houses. And AVC doesn't entirely endorse the American Legion. Pegler dislikes such doctrine; ergo, it must be Communist! Embarrassingly enough for Pegler, Communists don't like AVC either and have come out for the Legion. Pegler to the right of them, the *Daily Worker* to the left of them. Perhaps, after all, that's where American veterans who believe in the best of American democracy belong.

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THE WELL-GUARDED HALLS OF MONTEZUMA, long sheltered from the din of demobilization protest by a cagy Marine Corps discharge system and an iron Marine Corps discipline, have finally been invaded by an initial and nasty "incident." In Honolulu six NCO's were broken to private, and three of them brigged, for sponsoring a cable of protest to President Truman and others. Their petition—signed with 150 names—was a calm and discreet document, a model of tact among the many shriller outbursts current. It stated that marines have no information on demobilization policy, get no credit for service since V-J Day, and are under orders not to hold protest meetings. The merits of their first complaints may be debatable: the corps has been less concerned with policy than it has with practice, and its discharge record has not been bad. But there can be little debate over their third complaint or the action taken against them. This is the first publicized post-war occasion of a service flatly denying its men the right to get together and gripe—even denying a group of them the right of petition. As such it sets a bitter peace-time precedent. A marine spokesman explained that "a petition is regarded the same as an assembly, which was forbidden last month by General Geiger." The AVC, one of the recipients of the treasonable cable, has espoused the cause of the six marines; Mr. Pegler will no doubt find further evidence of Communist leanings in this defense of such an alien doctrine as the right of assembly.

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BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE OF *THE NATION* appears on the stands, transportation in the city of New York may be crippled by a subway strike. The issue arises from the demand of the Transport Workers' Union that it be recognized as sole collective bargaining agent for subway workers. The T. W. U. is willing to submit to an election to determine its claim to represent the majority of these workers. Mayor O'Dwyer, buttressed by an opinion from the city's corporation counsel, John J. Bennett, refuses—as LaGuardia did before him—to recognize the T. W. U. as sole bargaining agent. *The Nation* believes that employees of a business operated by a governmental agency have the same rights of collective bargaining as any other workers. If Seattle, Boston, and other cities can bargain collectively with a transport union, so can New York. That Bennett advises otherwise is not surprising; his training and bias are on the employer side of the fence. An ideal and easy solution would be to apply the principles of the Railway Labor Act to New York City transit, protecting the public against strikes except as a last resort and after mediation, and at the same time giving transit labor the same rights enjoyed by railway labor. That Mayor O'Dwyer prefers a showdown to a compromise of this kind does not speak well for a public official who owes his job to labor support and calls himself a progressive.

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ONE OF THE FINEST PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS in the country, the Horace Mann–Lincoln School in New York City, has been sentenced to death by its parent, Teachers College. This Roman verdict has been given without regard to the fact that the school was never more flourishing. It has a splendid faculty, a capacity registration, a long waiting list, the enthusiastic support of parents, and an operating deficit twice covered by income from funds originally donated for its maintenance by the General Education Board. The administration of Teachers College, however, professes to fear that the school might become too heavy a financial responsibility in the event of a new depression; in addition, it desires to use the funds for experimental projects inside the public schools. Since these projects have only been outlined in the most general terms it is impossible to pass judgment on their probable value. The beneficial influence on teaching methods throughout the country of the work that the Horace Mann–Lincoln School has been doing for many years is, on the other hand, a matter of record. That so valuable an institution should be cut off in its prime seems incredible; or, perhaps we should say, would seem so if the administration of Dean William F. Russell at Teachers College, as James Wechsler wrote in *The Nation* of December 17, 1938, had not long been notable for "two continuing elements—internal autocracy and pandering to external conservative elements."

The Fruits of Suspicion

A FEW days after a pillar of fire had ushered in the atomic age President Truman remarked to the world in an offhand way that of course the atom bomb would remain exclusively ours. Political and scientific innocents took this observation for granted, as though a discovery that could blow the world apart was naturally to be regarded in the same light as a slightly improved howitzer. But everyone else knew that we had neither the moral right to exclusive control of a weapon that meant life or death to other nations nor the power to monopolize it even if we had the right.

To the Russians in particular, long nurtured on suspicion and generating it in turn, the Truman view made no sense. They were no more prepared to subject their future to the atomic power of the United States than we would be to throw ourselves on the mercy of the Kremlin. Viewed from this perspective, their attempt to pry loose some of the secrets of the bomb's manufacture is understandable. Were the situation reversed, such efforts by American agents would be defended from every sounding-board in the country as the highest kind of patriotism.

By the same nationalistic standards, Canada has every right and duty to prosecute its own citizens for selling or giving secret information to Soviet agents. One need not take seriously Russia's defensive and self-righteous protest that the whole affair is an elaborate plot in "retaliation for all the annoyance caused by the Soviet delegates to [Prime Minister Mackenzie] King's friends" in the United Nations Assembly. The Canadian informers must be more than creatures of a conspiratorial imagination, since the Russians themselves admit not only that "individual collaborators" did in fact turn over certain information to the Soviet military attaché, but that the Soviet government viewed the matter seriously enough to recall the attaché "in view of the inadmissibility of the activities of these collaborators." Canada, be it noted, made no attempt to round up Russian agents but confined itself to arresting its own nationals. Would the Soviet government have done less? The question is purely rhetorical.

What emerges, then, from this bitter episode, given the *national* approach to control of the atom bomb, is that the Russians were right in attempting to spy out its secrets, that the Canadians were right in trying to frustrate the Russians, that suspicion and fear are fast freezing into a fixed hostility, and that the whole insane progression toward an atomic war threatens to become as inevitable as the spinning out of a Greek tragedy.

It is for President Truman and Congress to decide whether the national approach is worth that price. They can break the cycle of suspicion, defense, and retaliation

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by placing the atomic-bomb formula in the hands of the United Nations Security Council, with the proviso that its manufacture by any member state be forever outlawed and a requisite system of inspections established. But the time for this act of supreme statesmanship is running out. Once the Russians have acquired or developed the knowledge for themselves, it will be too late. We may be frantically eager then to bury the horror in the vaults of the UNO, but the Russians may be less enthusiastic about surrendering their hard-won prize. They will know then that we are doing out of fear what we lacked the vision to do when we had the strength.

India: Eleventh Hour

THE decision of the British government to send three senior Cabinet Ministers to India is an impressive gesture, but at this late hour gestures, unless accompanied by positive steps for meeting Indian demands for independence, are useless and even dangerous. For the land to which the mission is going is a land seething with unrest and threatened by disastrous famine. Strikes, riots, and most recently a naval mutiny are signs of a mounting tension. Not many more sparks of this kind are needed to set off the whole powder keg.

Unfortunately, in the face of this situation, the British government does not appear to have selected the strongest possible team for its Indian mission. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the septuagenarian Secretary for India who is to lead it, is a worthy but rather dull parliamentary veteran whose mental arteries have long since hardened. He is noted chiefly as a financial authority, and his only qualification for his job appears to have been his membership of the Round Table Conference in 1931, which paved the way for the last instalment of Indian reform. A. V. Alexander is a leader of the cooperative movement who has gone nautical. He is serving his third tour of duty as First Lord of the Admiralty, that is, civilian head of the navy, whose mannerisms and, we fear, prejudices he has thoroughly assimilated. The third member is Sir Stafford Cripps, still to some extent under the cloud of the failure of his previous mission to India in 1942. That failure was partly due to the nature of his instructions from Mr. Churchill, but his own character may have been a contributing factor. With all his great qualities, Cripps combines a Wilsonian inflexibility—a definite handicap in delicate negotiations.

What is the British policy which will inspire this mission? In essence it does not seem to have changed since 1942. Then the British government announced that it stood for a completely self-governing union of India with dominion status optional, the right of non-accession to the Union secured to dissentient units, a constitution drawn up by a specially created body representing all Indian interests. Or as Prime Minister Attlee said in the House of Commons when announcing the mission, "It is our intention to set up machinery in agreement with the Indians whereby the Indian people themselves will decide their destinies."

There does not appear to be an unbridgeable gap between this prescription and Nehru's demands as formulated in an interview reported on page 253. But the "right of non-accession" may be an obstacle to building that bridge as it has been in the past. For the official organ of the Moslem League, while offering cooperation to the British mission, has declared that the Moslems will never "surrender their right to autonomous, sovereign homelands in the Northwest and Northeast Provinces." Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the League, has stated in recent interviews that the principle of separation between Moslem India and Hindu India must be conceded prior to any discussion of constitutions. Despite Jinnah's threats of revolt if this demand is refused, we think the British representatives should make it clear that the right of secession is a question for Indians to settle themselves and must therefore be discussed in an all-India Constituent Assembly.

It must be recognized that the result might be a boycott of negotiations by the Moslem League and a new deadlock. Nehru, however, has suggested that this difficulty could be overcome if the British agreed to negotiate, not with a committee made up of the different party leaders, but with a conference composed of representatives of the Provincial Assemblies, which, despite the narrow franchise, are the most popularly elected bodies in the country. Such a plan might prove feasible provided Jinnah fails of his ambition to capture at least three of the eleven provincial legislatures in the elections now in progress.

The Moslem-Hindu schism is perhaps the biggest lion in the path of Indian independence, but there are others almost as formidable. Little has been heard lately about the problem of fitting the "independent" princely states —some six hundred of them—into a free, united, and, we hope, democratic, India. The semi-feudal rulers of these states, whose privileges are protected by treaties with the British crown, expect to be represented in any constitution-making body by their own nominees. Leaders of the All-India Congress take the stand that delegates from these states should be elected by the people inhabiting them. Unless the British recognize that the very existence of these states is an anachronism, even though a few of them have been modernized, and take measures to modify their treaty rights, the princes can wreck all negotiations simply by sitting tight.

Whatever concessions Britain makes, it cannot hope to liquidate its centuries-old imperial adventure in India and leave everyone content with the new era. It cannot

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afford to wait until a smooth transition to independence can be made. For that would postpone action indefinitely, and one thing we can be sure of—the longer the birth of Indian freedom is held back, the greater the turmoil with which it will be ushered into the world.

Ballot Without Bullets

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Buenos Aires, February 24

AS I write, the polls are closing throughout Argentina; the nation's most critical election has ended. All day I have toured through the streets of the capital and the industrial suburb of Avellaneda, one of Perón's chief strongholds. I must have passed a hundred polling places. I used my military pass to go inside one of them and watch the voting. Nowhere did I see a hint of disorder. The army guarded the streets and the polls. Soldiers, rifles unlimbered and bayonets fixed, were stationed everywhere. The police were on hand too, but the army's electoral command was in full control. Long queues of voters stretched along the block outside of each polling place. They were calm, sober, businesslike. At Radical Party headquarters, reports were coming in from other districts. They were all the same—quiet, no signs of coercion.

To all outward appearance, these have been free elections—at least as free as elections can be after years of intimidation and police control. The fact is astonishing enough to demand explanation.

Credit must go first of all to the people. The Democratic Union, slow to get under way, hampered by the state of siege and the provocations of Perón's strong-arm squads, developed immense strength as the campaign went on, so much strength that its victory seemed certain if the elections were free. Until recently, few expected free elections. The army had guaranteed them, but the people did not trust the army. Why should they? They knew that while Perón's support among the officers had diminished owing to intrigues and conflicts within the clique, he could still count on a strong following there. The army had done nothing since June, 1943, to inspire confidence in its democratic intentions; it had been a faithful instrument of dictatorship deeply imbued with Nazism.

But within the last couple of months the attitude and behavior of the army have begun to change. Even high officers of known Nazi sympathies like von der Becke, who has charge of the elections, reiterated their intention to guard the balloting. Democrats with whom I have talked attribute this change to a variety of causes, chiefly to professional pride. The prestige of the military had sunk so low among the people that many officers left off their uniforms when they went into the streets. Meanwhile the future of Perón became more ambiguous; the nation's position both in the pan-American regional set-up and in the UNO was obviously deteriorating; the Blue Book drove home the point that any regime headed by Perón would be fatally compromised by his proved Nazi connections and his fascist methods. For these reasons, apparently, the controlling elements in the army decided to live up to their commitment to guard the elections. Cynics believe that the commitment was made when it seemed certain that Perón could walk into office in spite of ostensibly clean elections—through his demagogic appeal to the masses, his use of public funds, propaganda, the effective machine built up in the Department of Labor and Social Welfare, and above all through constant intimidation and violence. They believe that by the time the Democratic Union developed its full strength it was too late for the army to back down on its promise.

This may be true or partly true. It is certain that the power of the democratic people of Argentina, fully awakened to the meaning of the choice confronting them, aroused as never before to their duty as free men and women, was the greatest single factor in forcing a fascist government and army to allow a free election.

This much they have won; whether they have also won the election will not be known certainly for several weeks, although some indication of the result may be available within five or six days. Most of the democratic leaders believe that victory is certain. Many also believe that Perón is finished, that he cannot risk an attempt to seize power in the face of the army's attitude and the democratic triumph, but skeptics are not ready to count their chickens so soon. They argue that the record of the army in Argentine politics offers no reason to believe in its permanent conversion to constitutional practices. They feel even more certain that Perón and his clique will not accept defeat and obligingly disappear without a fight. The Perón machine is an instrument of force. He did not build his military police and arm his rowdies in order to hand over power to a democratic elected government. So they argue, speculating whether he will move as soon as he sees how the vote is swinging or whether he will hold off hoping for the disintegration of the Democratic Union and a new chance to seize power. The worst contingency any of them can imagine is Perón's election. Few believe this possible in view of today's peaceful balloting, but the chance is there. The election of Dutra in Brazil was almost as unexpected. The result of an apparently legal victory for Perón would be disastrous for the anti-fascist forces in Argentina. Its international effect would be even worse. At the very least it would mean a bad defeat for the democratic inter-American policy supported by Mr. Braden.

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The Sins of American Liberals

Letter to an American Liberal

[*The following letter by the editor of the* New Statesman and Nation *(London) appeared in that weekly on January 19.* The Nation *asked Mr. Lerner to reply in its pages.*]

DEAR MAX LERNER: I enjoyed your article in *PM* on General Morgan. I usually enjoy your writing, and on this occasion you fairly let yourself go. It must have been fun to compare the General with Goebbels and to represent him as a Yahoo who regretted that Hitler had not succeeded in exterminating all the Jews. It so happens, as this journal said last week, that the General was guilty of indiscretion, not of Yahooism or anti-Semitism. How did so experienced a journalist as yourself come to make so violent an outburst on the basis of ambiguous phrases quoted out of their context? Surely you cannot have become one of those American liberals who join forces with Colonel McCormick whenever there is a chance of putting Britain in the dock.

Please understand that, this outburst aside, I have no quarrel with you or *PM,* which is an outstanding example of a good paper fighting for good causes against long odds. You yourself have fought valiantly on the right side; you did your best to persuade Americans that it was "later than they thought." Nor do you stand alone among American liberals. I recognize friends and allies every week in the *New Republic* and *Nation.* But some of the tendencies of American liberalism are disturbing. American criticism seems to me oddly subjective, as if it arose less from the facts criticized than from some internal conflict. There is still a strong Puritan strain in the United States. Perhaps the effect of living in so much comfort in a world so near starvation is to generate a sense of guilt, coupled with a fear of the wrath to come. And then, I cannot help thinking that the collapse of Germany and Japan has left you without an external object of vituperation. The devil has his uses, and those who are not prepared to fit the U. S. S. R. into the diabolic role find the British Empire the most satisfying substitute.

Let me pursue the example of Palestine. After the last war the British, partly for reasons of strategic interest and partly from genuinely humanitarian motives, offered the Jews a national home in Palestine. They were attacked for imperialism in doing so, just as they are attacked now for imperialism because they don't suddenly promise to put several million Jews into an Arab country in less than no time. I think the British might have done more to fulfil their promise if they had taken a more definite line at an earlier stage, but American attacks seem really to ignore the existence of the Arabs altogether. It would have been better, in my view, if the Jews had been content to leaven the cultures of other nations, where they have always played a most distinguished role. However, I well understand why they want a home of their own, and why, after the unique tragedy of the last years, with only a remnant saved from Hitler's slaughter-houses, you are impatient to see them in a land which is not associated with these terrible events. I agree with you that many of them find little hospitality in Europe, mainly, I think, because the Nazis have disposed of all their property to other people, many of whom paid for it in the legal way and naturally do not want to give it up.

But do you know how many of these unfortunate survivors of a tortured race really want to go to Palestine? Is this small and disputed country surrounded by enemies really attractive to most European Jews? I don't know. I am hoping that the Anglo-American Commission will tell me. The only definite statement I've seen is that many of them would prefer to stay in Europe if we can design tolerable conditions for them there, while the majority of those who want to emigrate would prefer America to Palestine.

Whatever happens in Palestine, the number of Jews who can go there is limited, and I can't help wondering why you do not advocate that some of the Jewish refugees who arrive in the crowded and hungry British zone should be taken over by the Americans, whose zone is little devastated and comparatively well fed. And why should not many of them emigrate to the United States, if only on the German quota, which I presume has not been taken up during the war? You could write a magnificent article demanding the right of Jewish entry into America—which flows with milk and honey, even if it is not the original Promised Land.

Such a suggestion, which seems so obvious to us, must come from American rather than British pens. It might savor of criticism, and the British are too polite to criticize America. We know that Americans—for some reason that it would be worth while to analyze at length on another occasion—assume that it is good for the British to be attacked in unmeasured terms, while British "interference in American business" is said only to do harm, worsening relations and making things more difficult for American reformers. That puts a very considerable responsibility upon you. A socialist like yourself, Max, knows that America is not in fact streamlined

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in chromium from Hollywood to Fifth Avenue, but is a nation with poverty (I've seen your share-croppers literally starving in Arkansas and Mississippi) as great as any in Poland or Hungary; you know that to millions in the United States freedom means freedom to be unemployed; that the racialism you rightly condemn in its most extreme form in Nazi Germany, as you do in its milder forms in the British Empire, is the accepted basis of society throughout your Southern states. American liberals love writing articles about this effete little island, which in fact fought Germany for a year by itself; they do not even dare to tell the American public that British casualties in the war were higher—not relatively, but positively—than those of America, which has three times our population.

You know all these things and you understand clearly enough the conflicts inside the United States. Are you not a bit out of date in bothering so much about British imperialism, which is in retreat even in India, Greece, and Indonesia? What about your own racialism? And if you are really worried about imperialism, let me call your attention to the aspirations of some of your own generals and your business tycoons.

By all means preach to us in your spare time; to do so is always the privilege of those who have bomb-proof pulpits. But I am not sure, if you once get to work on your own complex problems, that you will have much leisure left over for preaching about ours. We built our Labor Party during a period of British imperialism because socialists were no longer content to be a mere adjunct of the Liberal Party. But except in two states an American socialist still has to choose between voting Democrat or Republican. Will this choice content you in the Presidential election at the end of Mr. Truman's term? How far will you be able to defend your liberties if American business decides that the best way out of its present economic mess is to beat the imperial drum and maintain a huge program of national armaments and a policy of foreign adventure? I know today America is rushing back to civilian life and free enterprise; but the contrast between strikes and labor crises today and booming profits during the period of war-time discipline carries a lesson that may not be lost on American capitalists. If they fail in their present trial of strength with the C. I. O., some of them may get round to the notion that an American Duce could make trains run on time.

These are only questions thrown out to you across the Atlantic; but they do need answering. For I cannot avoid the conclusion, as I read the violent diatribes of American liberals against Britain, that they are born less of knowledge of British sins than of a sense of frustration in your own country, of uneasiness about its future, and of guilt about its share of responsibility for the world's misery.

KINGSLEY MARTIN

Answer to a British Laborite

DEAR KINGSLEY MARTIN: What strikes me hardest about your letter is the curiously nationalist level on which it is written. I know you are a socialist, but in this instance you do not write as one. You write rather as an Englishman writing to an American—quick to resent any criticism of British policy on Palestine, defensive about the Empire, insistent that the British be given credit for their war losses, caustic about the "bomb-proof" position of the Americans, invidious in comparing the internal problems and positions of the British Labor Party and of American liberals, to the decided disadvantage of the latter. It is a mote-and-beam letter you have written me. I do not take it personally. If I read it aright, it is directed less to me than to American liberals as a group, uncohesive though we are. My piece on General Morgan merely touched off an ammunition charge which had evidently been accumulating for some time in your mind. But what troubles me in your letter, as it troubles me in the fiery speeches of your Foreign Secretary, is that you should dwell so much on patriotic resentment when the deep maladies of our time require a socialist analysis and humanist outlook.

Let me start with some simple questions of humanism, and then go on to the more complex questions of socialism.

The General Morgan incident was of importance partly because it lit up for a brief revealing moment not only the tragic plight of the Jews but the corrosion of the democratic conscience. Try to remember what the past two decades should have taught us about how fragile is the heritage of human decency and how thin the veneer that separates us from the beast crouching in the jungle of the human instincts. That is the central lesson of the fascist adventure, a terrifying lesson that goes beyond Germany and the Germans. Seven million Jews were killed in Europe, under conditions that underline the great moral fact of our time—the atomizing of the human conscience, the deadening of human sensibilities. Try to see the Morgan incident within this context. You say that General Morgan was "guilty of indiscretion." This can only mean that he spoke the truth but was tactless about it. I welcome the truth, and I don't care about the discretion: in fact, I recoil from the notion that this is anything to be discreet about.

I agreed with the General about the Jews wanting to get out of Europe, but I asked whether the desire to get away from what is a cemetery of their people was a crime to be charged against them. I agreed that others were helping them, but I asked whether it was not Goebbelesque to call their help a "secret Jewish force" and a "world conspiracy." And when the General was quoted as saying—I have seen none of these phrases denied—that the Jewish refugees were the "hard core" that contained the "seeds of the third world war," I saw in his

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words an ironic reversal by which the pitiful remnants of Hitler's victims had become not the accusers at the bar but the accused in the dock. And in this reversal I found —and still find—that atomizing of the democratic conscience that can only lead to Yahooism.

We had cherished some hopes that on the question of Palestine the British Colonial Office was not speaking the mind of the non-office-holding members of the Labor Party like yourself, but your letter dashes those hopes. You speak scornfully of putting "several million Jews into an Arab country in less than no time." Doesn't that beg the question of the historical claims of the Jews and the legal commitments to them? And wasn't the issue a matter not of several million Jewish immigrants but of a hundred thousand to start with? And is it fair to say "less than no time," considering the long successive delays over immigration? You ask why the Jews of Europe are not "content to leaven the cultures of other nations." Surely you will not disagree that they are economically excluded from the Eastern Europe which was their home, and that any leavening they would do there from now on would be with their blood and their humiliation.

You ask whether they "really want to go to Palestine," whether it is "really attractive to them." The most recent testimony we have is from Bartley Crum, an American member of the Joint Inquiry Commission, who has seen these people and reports not only that they are almost unanimous in wanting to go to Palestine but also that they are on the point of mass suicide. You ask why I do not write an article "demanding the right of Jewish entry into America." The answer is that I did exactly that—a week *before* I wrote on General Morgan—in a *PM* piece called Shall America Be a Closed Country? And in another piece three weeks before that, called Cant, I attacked our Congressmen for complaining of British policy in Palestine when "not a single one of these champions of the despised and rejected has dared suggest in Congress that the gates of America should be opened to new mass immigration."

I say all this only to get the record straight. Any argument about whether American racism—toward both Jews and Negroes—is worse than British imperialism, or vice versa, is a fruitless argument, and for socialists it comes close to being infantile. For myself I write not as an American or a Jew but as a democrat and socialist who cares more deeply about the strengthening of human decency and integrity than about anything else in the twelve corners of the world. It is these human values that are at stake, Kingsley—not just Jewish hopes or Arab resistance or British power or the American sense of guilt.

When it comes to the question of working for a socialist democracy, we in America are in many respects the pupils of your British Labor movement. If we believe that there are "two nations" in England, we have the massive authority of Disraeli to back us up; and we know there are also two nations in America. This knowledge is what should cement us to you in a common struggle. We have uniformly made the distinction that the Labor writers have taught us to make in their pamphlets—K. Zilliacus, for example, in foreign policy and Aneurin Bevan in domestic—between the acts of the Tory rulers in the past and the deepest wishes of the British common people.

We have admired and supported the people of Great Britain, as against their ruling class, from the beginning of the world crisis. I am sorry that you should speak of my "bomb-proof pulpit," and complain that we do not tell the American people about British casualty lists. The American liberals supported the cause of the British people from the war's beginning, not out of any Anglophilism but because we knew their cause was mankind's as well. If we now attack the foreign policy of the British government, it is not out of any Anglophobia, or even—though I hate to spoil your psychiatric probings —out of a sense of our own guilt, but because that foreign policy deserves attack for humanist reasons. And if I read the Parliamentary reports correctly, and also the *New Statesman* and the London *Tribune*, there are members of your own party who attack it in the same strain. What was reactionary policy when practiced by Churchill and Eden does not become, by some curious alchemy, socialist policy when practiced by Attlee and Bevin.

But I would give a false picture of my views if I dwelt on this phase at any length. I think the American liberals try to see the whole British picture in perspective. We regard with envy the starts you are making in nationalizing the mines and electric power, and in housing and social security. We know something about the economic losses you have suffered, as well as the loss in lives, and the difficulty of your economic position. We have given every energy to overcoming Congressional opposition to the pending loan, and from the beginning we asked that its terms be more generous. I say this not out of defensiveness or a desire to make a conspicuous display of virtue, but again to set the record straight on how the vast majority of American liberals feel.

It is not preaching, however, to make a sharp analysis of the conditions of socialist success. Neither the Labor Party in England nor the New Dealers in the United States have thus far been successful in achieving a democratic socialism. If you are closer to the goal than we, you are approaching it under a heavier burden. We have to cope with the tenacity of capitalist power and with an outworn party set-up. But you have the terrible burden of somehow trying to equate the retention of a colonial empire with a socialist society. We in America believe you must make the choice between colonialism and so-

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cialism: we do not believe that the two are compatible. And we are dismayed when, in your efforts to hold on to imperial power—in Palestine, Indonesia, India—you not only endanger your socialism but come very close to betraying the simplest human values. I don't pretend that the fight is an easy one: it is easy neither in England nor in America. But in the struggle for a socialist democracy, as in everything else, to acknowledge the mistakes and face the tests is the beginning of wisdom.

MAX LERNER

India's Passage to Freedom

BY ALICE THORNER

During the war analyst of Indian affairs in the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission

New Delhi, January 19

THE issue in India today is no longer one of interim arrangements and war-time expedients. Indians want a final settlement that will put an end to British rule, and they want it now. Yesterday, in a special interview for *The Nation,* I asked Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been preaching this doctrine to enthusiastic multitudes the length and breadth of the country, just how the Indian National Congress proposes to achieve independence.

The background for his answer is found in the bitter history of the past three and a half years, beginning with the leaderless, incoherent uprising of August, 1942. At the very time when popular forces all over the world were gathering in the great tide that finally crushed fascism, India's national leaders were in jail and its people sunk in apathy. The failure of the Simla conference last June completed the disillusionment of the newly released Congress leaders about achieving any satisfactory agreement with the government without a display of strength. Simla also embittered them against the Moslem League, whose demand for a politically autonomous Moslem homeland they vehemently rejected. In September the All-India Congress Committee revived "Quit India" as a fighting slogan. Since then the Congress has been busy mending its political fences with a view to a showdown with both the government and the league in the provincial elections. By April, when the balloting will be completed, Congress confidently expects to have received an overwhelming popular mandate as the chosen instrument of India's deliverance.

The league has similarly concentrated its energies on the coming poll with the aim of proving that India's 100,000,000 Moslems will be satisfied with nothing less than partition. Already it is clear that the vision of an independent Pakistan, comprising three provinces in the northwest and two in the northeast, has won the support of a considerable section of the Moslems. Thus the contention between the two great parties can be reduced to whether there shall be one or two free Indias.

Food shortage, land rents, debt reduction, labor strikes, unemployment, economic planning, caste barriers, civil liberties, simply do not exist as election issues. Nonviolence, although again confirmed by the Congress Working Committee last month, is alien to the temper of the times. Congress leaders nourish anti-government feelings on memories of the ruthless stamping out of the 1942 agitation. Congress election rallies thrill to glowing accounts of the "Indian National Army" which Subhas Chandra Bose, a former Congress president, organized in Japanese-held Malaya with the avowed purpose of driving the British out of India. Mahatma Gandhi's spiritual prestige is today overshadowed by Vallabhbhai Patel's grip on the Congress machine, Sarat Bose's control of his brother's old stronghold of Bengal, and Jawaharlal Nehru's unmatched popularity.

This week in Delhi crowds are besieging the house where the Congress high command confers on election strategy, hoping to catch a glimpse of Jawaharlal. Everywhere is a feeling that after the stalemate of the war years the Indian people are again on the move. Outlining his program for the transfer of power, Nehru said:

> In essence the Indian problem is simple. Britain must decide on the recognition of India as an independent country, and on a freely elected Constituent Assembly having full authority to frame her constitution. Once this is done, the rest becomes fairly easy, although no doubt many hurdles will have to be got over.

He was particularly concerned to avoid a repetition of the deadlock which wrecked the Simla conference, when the Congress and the league were unable to agree on what constituted legitimate Moslem representation:

> The easiest and fairest way to proceed is *not* to deal with parties as such, or with religious or other groupings, but with the provincial legislatures after they are elected. It is unfortunate that their franchise is a limited one. Nevertheless, we shall have something which does represent the people.

What subjects, I asked, should be referred to these provincial assemblies, and how could they be consulted?

> The first two questions that will arise immediately after the elections will be the convoking of a Constit-

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uent Assembly and the formation of a new central government to function as a "caretaker" until the new constitution comes into effect. In the solution of both of these problems the newly elected provincial legislatures should have the dominant voice.

The eleven legislatures, he explained, could select delegates from among their members to form a preliminary conference. This might possibly develop into the constitution-making body, and would in any case lay the ground for it.

Would the Moslems agree to take part in such a conference? Nehru's reply was that Congress would spare no effort to assure them a fair voice in the proceedings. The delegates from the provincial legislatures, he suggested, could well be elected by the proportional system to allow minority groups full representation. Or, if they preferred, the Moslem members of the legislatures could get together and elect their own delegates. Nehru thought it very unlikely that any provincial legislature as a whole would refuse to cooperate. He explained that Congress, as either the majority party or the largest single party, expected to form ministries in eight of the provinces; there would probably be coalition governments in the other three. If a Moslem League ministry came to power in one province and would not join with the others, he imagined it would be possible to go ahead without that province and see what would happen later on.

I asked him about the recent statement of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that Pakistan could be achieved only through a civil war. Nehru answered:

> No question arises of any civil conflict. It is already agreed that the largest possible autonomy should be given to the constituent units of the federation. Ultimately if any particular area wants to walk out, it can do so, provided it clearly expresses its decision on a specific proposal. But if any attempt is made to force areas to remain outside the federation against their will, as Mr. Jinnah suggests [Nehru refers here to Hindu and Sikh populations within the borders of the provinces claimed for Pakistan], then inevitably there will be conflict.
>
> It must be remembered that there can be no absolute self-determination anywhere. There are some overriding considerations, such as those of defense, which cannot be ignored. This is especially important in view of the situation developing in the Middle East.

He predicted that when Moslems were faced with the actual economic and political problems involved in separating predominantly Moslem areas from the Indian state, they would lose their present enthusiasm for Pakistan.

What, I asked, would be your criterion of the good faith of Britain in the course of these preliminaries?

> The Labor government [he replied], if it is at all sincere, should recognize the Constituent Assembly as having final authority. If it is treated merely as a consultative body, then nothing gets going at all

Pandit Nehru was also anxious to make clear to American readers the importance of Asia in all world calculations and the key place of Indian independence in the stability of Asia:

> Asia is likely to play a far greater role in the future than in the past few hundred years. If there should be, unfortunately, another world war, Asia is likely to be a bigger center of it than Europe. In any consideration of war or peace in Asia, India is crucial both for the Middle East and for Southeast Asia. I have little doubt that if India had been given an opportunity to cooperate in the war as a free country, the struggle might have ended a year or two earlier and millions of lives might have been saved. If India gains its independence soon, far-reaching changes will follow in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and new and peaceful groupings will develop in certain present-day danger spots.

Although Nehru contends that there is no final solution for the world except a federation of free nations, his attitude toward the UNO is wait and see. He raised questions about the recent policies of Britain and Russia and had a warning for the United States:

> The events in Indonesia have been bitterly resented all over Asia and especially in India because Indian troops have been used there. What is happening in Iran has also disturbed people here. I recently referred to the United States as to some extent underwriting the British Empire. I did not mean that American policy as a whole was committed in that direction, but there were certainly some trends which I considered dangerous. I can well understand how in the world context today America wants to help Britain in many ways. That is necessary and desirable. But the point is that there must be a distinction between helping Britain and helping the British Empire. To do the latter is really to weaken Britain in the long run as well as those who support her. And the long run is likely to be a short run.

The essence of Nehru's belief is that a strong, free India is indispensable to the peace of the world. He calls upon Britain in its own best interests to hand over the reins of power to whomever the Indian people choose as their representatives. He maintains that once the principle of independence is granted, Moslem demands can be settled within the framework of the Congress program. He hinges his whole formula on British willingness to leave final decisions on all constitutional matters to an elected Constituent Assembly. In effect he has stated the terms on which the Congress will undertake to insure a peaceful transition period. Whether the program he outlines can succeed will depend on the relative bargaining power of the Congress, the league, and the government at the close of the elections, the intensity of the desire for Pakistan, and the extent of an aroused people's patience with protracted constitutional procedures. The next few months will show whether India's passage to freedom can be a smooth one.

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German Casualties: New Evidence

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

Historian and political scientist; during the war a member of the Psychological Warfare Division

GERMANY, said a famous German general whom I interviewed at the time of the Nazi collapse, "is through as a military power. We have lost at least five million men and we shall not be able to recover. We are *kaput*."

The General had been the chief propagandist of the Wehrmacht, and I wondered whether his statement was not the beginning of a new propaganda line. I recalled that when peace came in 1918 many people were convinced that Germany could not easily recoup its terrible losses in man-power. Almost three million Germans had died for the Kaiser, and nearly twice as many more had been disabled. Yet twenty years later, when Germans who were boys then had grown up, the Reich furnished Hitler a mightier army than it had Wilhelm.

Today as in 1918 German sympathizers, not necessarily Nazis, are saying that the fantastic number of men killed in this war has permanently crippled the Reich, and that we need no longer fear its military might. The argument obviously depends upon the number of casualties suffered by Germany in World War II. What are the facts?

No reliable official figures of German losses exist. To the best of my knowledge, even the Allied governments have only estimates, not accurate data. The Nazi leaders undoubtedly knew the truth, but they kept it to themselves. Casualties were published for the purposes of political propaganda. In the latter part of the war Hitler exaggerated them in order to incite the German people to their utmost efforts. In effect, he said: You have already made such a colossal investment in blood that you cannot back out now; millions of men have died and more must be sacrificed in order that it shall not have been in vain.

This explains why such wild statements about German losses are current today. Two months before his end, Hitler told the people that the Reich had suffered 12,500,000 casualties, of which number half were killed. Just before the surrender Berlin raised the figure to 16,000,000—3,500,000 in one month—6,000,000 of them killed. Astronomical figures were also circulated by the Russians, who for their own political reasons made gigantic claims concerning the number of Germans they had slaughtered. These imaginary statistics spread through the world, reaching new heights with each retelling. Recently, for instance, a Swiss periodical, the *Nation*, reported that Germany had lost no fewer than 8,500,000 in killed and 6,300,000 in wounded. If this were true, it would mean that around 40 per cent of all Germany's males, including male babies, boys, youths, middle-aged men, and old men, were dead or disabled—a preposterous assumption, as everybody who visits Germany can perceive.

To arrive at an approximation of the truth, a colleague and I investigated the matter experimentally in a number of German towns. The conclusion we came to was that German losses in this war were not so great as in World War I. Our experiments were of course limited and therefore liable to error, but here is the evidence we turned up. The figures are at least honest and precise, not estimates colored by politics.

In considering how to attack the problem, I recalled the ingenious techniques employed by historians to obtain light on population, wealth, and trade in the ages before public records were kept. One of their methods was to consult the church records of births and burials. I decided to search out the number of German casualties in the same way.

The first town we chose as a sample was Breinig, near Aachen. It was a typical small town of three thousand inhabitants, and fortunately its church records were intact. The parish priest cooperated gladly. He explained that the community was nearly 100 per cent Catholic and that the people worked in factories and on farms. There was no great wealth and no great poverty. The most important thing for our purpose was that the priest had kept a complete record of all the men of Breinig who had fallen in battle. His "Liber Mortuorum" was a thick, meticulously kept volume which contained in Latin the names, ages, and parentage of all his parishioners who had died. With his help we made a list of the casualties.

The record covered exactly five years of war, from September, 1939, to September, 1944. During this period 600 men of Breinig were taken into the German armed forces. Of these, the priest said, "an enormous number were wounded," twenty were missing (many of them probably as prisoners in Russia; with no Red Cross contact between Germany and the Soviet Union, no reports of prisoners were received), and sixty-four were killed. If we assumed that half the missing were dead, the number of killed became seventy-four, or 2½ per cent of the town's population.

The Breinig record also gave interesting information on where and when the men were killed. An eloquent

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story of Germany's war fortunes could be read between the lines of the "Liber Mortuorum." For the first two years of the war, until Hitler's invasion of Russia, Breinig had only three men killed, one of them at sea. This checks with the larger picture; the Germans seized Poland, overran the Low Countries, and crushed France with a minimum of cost to themselves. It was only after Hitler slashed at the Soviet Union that the curve of losses began to mount sharply. About three-fourths of all the dead of the Breinig parish were listed as killed on the Russian front.

The next town we visited was Bardenberg, which had a population of 4,100. Like Breinig, its inhabitants were Catholic factory and farm workers. Records kept by the church were not so complete as in Breinig, but the priest was able to fill in some of the gaps from memory and by inquiry among his parishioners. Between September, 1939, and September, 1944, Bardenberg lost 90 men killed—2.2 per cent of the population, compared to Breinig's 2.5 per cent. The difference may be accounted for by the gaps in the Bardenberg record. The majority of the men of Bardenberg also fell in Russia.

Two other towns yielded similar percentages. In Fischeln, near Krefeld, where the deputy mayor kept the town records, we learned that 200 men had been killed out of a population of 9,000. Fischeln, too, was a Catholic community with a small-business and working-class population. Here the percentage was 2.2 per cent, the same as in Bardenberg. In World War I, Fischeln's dead had numbered 252, and the population had not changed. The fourth town, Frecheln, a Rhineland community of 16,000, lost 400 men, or 2.5 per cent of the population.

If we assume that this percentage is typical of the country as a whole, and apply it to the German population of roughly 75,000,000, we get 1,875,000 as the number of German killed. My figures, however, cover only the first five years of the war, up to September, 1944. Between October, 1944, and May, 1945, the Allies probably killed another 500,000 Germans, which gives a total of 2,375,000. If to this we add the 500,000 civilians who, according to the United States bombing survey, lost their lives in Allied air raids, the grand total is 2,875,000.

I am presenting these figures with the warning that they are based upon limited records. But I believe that in the absence of reliable statistics they deserve consideration. If the Germans lost less than three million men, the war, in terms of human life, was for them a cheap one. They had directly or indirectly caused the death of an estimated twenty to twenty-five million human beings in Europe. They had also subjected most of Europe to dangerous undernourishment while they themselves remained reasonably well fed. Biologically, therefore, the Germans cannot be said to have lost the war.

Atoms Won't Wait

BY LOUIS N. RIDENOUR

Professor of Physics, University of Pennsylvania; during the war expert consultant to the Secretary of War and member of the Radar Committee of the Combined Chiefs of Staff

THE two billion dollars spent on the atomic bomb gave us more than a weapon of unparalleled effectiveness. They gave us a new power technology, which may become revolutionary but cannot be fully exploited now because operation of an atomic power plant involves the manufacture of atomic explosives on the side. These explosives can be separated from the uranium fueling the power plant and used for atomic bombs if bombs are wanted. A nation's total installed atomic horse-power measures its capacity for making atomic bombs; experts say the change-over time would be short. In this difficult situation the United States is awaiting the development of enforceable safeguards against the improper use of atomic energy before revealing the important features of its atomic technology. Although this policy will inevitably delay the development of atomic power, there is little disagreement about its wisdom.

Unfortunately, the veil of secrecy which it has been decided shall continue to cover much of the war-time work of the Manhattan Engineer District is being extended to cover it all. This rule seems unnecessarily sweeping. Secrecy about the medical knowledge gained in the atomic-bomb project cannot possibly be considered desirable. Yet though the great nuclear chain-reacting piles at Hanford, Washington, are ceaselessly producing radioactive substances of tremendous importance to clinical medicine and medical research, the many hospitals, universities, and industries which have applied to the army for radioactive material have so far been consistently refused. Let us examine the technical background of the question.

Fifty years ago this month Henri Becquerel launched the science of radioactivity in a paper read before the Academy of Science in Paris. He reported his observation that compounds of uranium emit rays which can affect a photographic plate, even through materials opaque to ordinary light. Only three months earlier Roentgen had announced his discovery of X-rays. Early workers in radioactivity and X-rays often suffered fatal burns because the serious effect of these rays on living tissue was not

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understood. Means were later developed for the measurement and exact control of radiation dosage, and safety standards were established. An overdose of radiation is now rare.

Intensities of radiation produced in the work on the atomic bomb were fantastically higher than any ever produced before. Much of the radiation consisted of neutrons, which were first discovered in 1932 and whose physiological effects had been investigated only in a preliminary way before the war. Sharp attention was paid to health problems raised by these intensities. In addition to radiation hazards, the medical experts had to deal with the danger of ingestion or inhalation of the various radioactive or toxic materials handled, many of which were substances not occurring in nature and possessing unknown properties. An enormous amount of work has been done on these and other problems. The results, and their extension by every qualified research agency, are clearly of the greatest possible importance to a world entering its atomic age. Yet the only official summary of them available is that contained in Professor Smyth's report. Quoted in its entirety, it runs, "Extensive and valuable results were obtained."

Even before the work on the atomic-bomb project we had been able to add to the forty or so different kinds of radioactive atoms occurring in nature some three hundred new kinds. By the end of 1939 every one of the chemical elements was represented by at least one type of radioactive atom. These new types were created in the course of the atomic transmutations that men were learning to cause and control.

The great practical importance of these radioactive specimens of the common chemical elements arises from our ability to use the sensitive techniques of radioactivity research to detect extremely small quantities of them. By mixing a tiny quantity of radioactive iron with a sample of ordinary iron we can tag the sample for future identification. No matter what complicated chemical or physical changes may occur in it, the tagged sample can always be surely recognized by its radioactivity.

The value of such a tag can be illustrated by its use in a typical investigation. The problem was to find a preservative for whole blood which would permit it to be stored for some time before use. The donors of the blood to be treated with the preservative under test were fed small quantities of an iron compound containing radioactively tagged iron; their red cells took up some of this iron and were thus themselves tagged. After the transfusion a small blood sample was taken from the patient. The red cells from the stored blood could be identified by their radioactivity, and their number was a precise indication of the effectiveness of the preservative.

Similar techniques are valuable in other fields—in physics, chemistry, botany, metallurgy. To exploit them, we must have artificial radioactive elements. These can be and are being made by the bombardment of suitable targets in a cyclotron. But only small quantities of radioactive material can be made in this way, and all but a few of the working cyclotrons in the country are in the hands of the Manhattan District. The greatest source of most of the known types of radioactive atoms are the huge piles now producing atomic explosives. Some radioactive atoms occur as the atomic fragments resulting from the fission of uranium—the process which keeps the piles running—and are thus true by-products. Others can be made by inserting targets of suitable material into the piles, where an intense neutron bombardment changes stable atoms of the target into radioactive ones. The piles can produce radioactive examples of some elements whose intensity of radiation rivals that of all the refined radium in the world. Artificial radio-elements can be used as a substitute for radium or X-rays in therapy and in medical and industrial radiography. But these radioactive by-products are now being stored underground and allowed to decay, and targets are not being inserted into the piles for any purpose except to further the army's investigations.

Until three months ago the army was perfectly justified in refusing to arrange for the equitable distribution of radioactive by-products to competent and worthy research agencies. It expected to be promptly relieved of the entire problem by the passage of the May-Johnson atomic-energy bill, which provided for the appointment by the President of an Atomic Energy Commission with plenary powers; the army did not wish to circumscribe these powers by previous policy decisions. However, widespread objection to certain features of the bill made it clear that proper legislation on so complicated and vital a subject demanded much more consideration than it had been given. Accordingly, a special Committee on Atomic Energy was set up under Senator McMahon to hear testimony and to "report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date by bill or otherwise" on matters relating to the development, use, and control of atomic energy. Pending the passage by Congress of a law governing these matters, the army is still the proprietor of the atom.

Since no atomic legislation is likely to be passed in the near future, it would seem desirable for the army to act now on matters about which a future commission could hardly have a different opinion. The most urgently needed steps are the immediate clearance of all the project's medical and biological work and the distribution of artificial radio-elements to the proper agencies. The latter could be arranged by selecting a responsible organization, say, the National Academy of Sciences, to receive and coordinate requests for such material and report its recommendations to the army. It is now six months since the explosion over Hiroshima—and high time for a realistic appraisal of the degree of secrecy we actually need to preserve.

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Bread, Bills, and Bevinism

BY AYLMER VALLANCE
The Nation's *London correspondent*

London, February 11

IF ONE accepts G. K. Chesterton's poetic version of British social history, in 1649—when a king lost his head—"a few men talked of freedom, while England talked of ale." In these days of 1946 England's leading conversational subject is not the problem of supposedly liberated Europe and Asia but dried eggs. Their abrupt removal from the nation's diet, coupled with the halving of the meager lard ration and reversion to war-time "high-extraction" flour for bread, has come as a hard psychological blow to the public, particularly since there is an uneasy feeling that we have not yet seen the full extent of this renewed enforcement of austerity. The Tory press, delighted with the chance to canalize popular resentment against a Labor government, is doing its best to build up an atmosphere of political crisis, with talk of back-bench revolts and ministerial failures. This is a gross distortion of realities: the British housewife and her husband find the food cuts a bitter pill, but they are swallowing it philosophically, in the knowledge that, so far as cereals and fats are concerned, it is a question of over-all scarcity in an interdependent world, and that Britain is still better off than most European countries.

Criticism of the government on this issue will center in two points. Why were Parliament and public left so unprepared for decisions which the Cabinet must have foreseen long before Sir Ben Smith's Christmas visit to Washington? And why were the Ministers of Agriculture and Labor so slow to adjust their departmental strategy in accordance with their Food colleague's appreciation of coming needs? There is an uncomfortable impression of faulty staff work, imperfect collaboration, and a Micawberish clinging to hopes of something "turning up." The present stoppage of imports of dried eggs was evidently determined on last September on the supposition—hardly warranted by the Washington Combined Food Board's crop estimates—that poultry feed in 1946 would be more plentiful here. But far from reinsuring against grain scarcity, the Minister of Agriculture, by cutting the 1946 wheat subsidy from $16 to $8 an acre, allowed farmers to put much land back to "roots" and grazing; and only last month the Minister of Labor announced the prospective call-up of 8,000 young agricultural workers for the services. This lunatic misdirection of man-power has now been hurriedly canceled, use of much more German prisoner-of-war labor on the land is planned, and larger wheat subsidies are likely to be enacted in haste. It is late in the day, however, to expect farmers to change their spring-sowing plans, and war-time bread means fewer millers' waste products for feed. Making due allowance for the recent worsening of the world crop outlook through drought in India and South Africa, the government will not find it easy to answer the charge that it either was caught napping or has been guilty of the cardinal sin of not taking the public into its confidence soon enough.

Meanwhile, if the loss of those dried eggs leaves a bad gap in the family menu, the Parliamentary plate is piled high. Coal nationalization, comprehensive social insurance, investment control, housing subsidies, and the repeal of the 1927 Trade Disputes Act—all these measures have been launched on their legislative voyage since the House reassembled three weeks ago; and hard on their heels are bills to establish a national health service and to deal with "development value" of land. The government should have little difficulty in pressing forward its heavy program apace. The Opposition—with Churchill sketching the Miami water front and marketing his great, once "secret," war speeches to Mr. Luce—is sensationally ineffective; and so far as domestic legislation is concerned, the snipers of the left wing are unlikely to use obstructively the license to speak and vote freely which was accorded by last month's revision of party-standing orders.

In briefest terms—for this congeries of bills is too overwhelming to review in detail—Mr. Shinwell will get what is really a blank check to finance and organize a New Deal in the coal mines. In committee the mine owners' Tory spokesmen will haggle over the elaborate details of compensation: they hate the idea of payment in non-marketable government bonds, and they will fight the inclusion of the profitable coke ovens and by-product plants in the assets to be taken over by the state. But in the case of coal the battle for private ownership has been lost; shots from the retreating Tory rear guard will be perfunctory. They will reserve their fire for the one-clause bill repealing the 1927 Trade Disputes Act. This bill's passage, which they dare not use their majority in the House of Lords to prevent, will restore the right of civil servants to belong to unions in the T. U. C., will replace "contracting-in" by "contracting-out" as the basis of collecting contributions to unions' political funds, and will make a general strike as legal (or illegal? It was never judicially settled) as it was in 1926. Here, the Tories will proclaim, is the threat of red ruin. In truth there is a bare chance that some unions may

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allocate their increased political funds to the Communist Party, but save for nervous old ladies and retired colonels in Bournemouth nobody is going to get excited over the removal of pains and penalties attaching to this or that form of strike. If conditions ever recur here which lead to a general strike being declared by our constitutional-minded T. U. C., there will be a revolutionary situation in which acts of Parliament are "scraps of paper."

Needless to repeat, British Labor today is not thinking in terms of revolutions; it is thinking of social security à la Beveridge and of housing. Aneurin Bevan has introduced a bill providing a minimum subsidy of $88 a year for working-class dwellings built by local authorities. This should enable municipalities to go ahead quickly with their building schemes, which are still in many areas hanging fire, and it will bring rentals down to a manageable figure. But for every 100,000 houses built it will mean an annual cost of $8,000,000 to the Exchequer and of $2,500,000 to the local ratepayers. By this time next year, when the subsidy is to be reviewed, Bevan will have to get the present inflated costs of building down substantially, or the ultimate financial burden of the whole national program of 4,000,000 new houses, including the expense of necessary slum clearances, will be staggering.

Future cost figures, too, are a debatable element in the National Insurance bill which Mr. Griffiths is piloting smoothly through its first stages. So far as its basic principles are concerned, the measure is practically non-controversial and derives, except in minor points, from Coalition agreement. The contributions are going to make a sizable hole in wage packets, but the benefits, in unemployment, sickness, and old age, are good value. From the left there may be criticism that for unemployment, in contrast to sickness, the principle of the hated means test attached to "extended benefit" is not wholly discarded, though it is not to be applied in the immediate future. The Opposition's line will be to stress the rising cost of the scheme to the Exchequer through the prospective growth of expenditure on the $6.50 weekly pensions in an aging population. In thirty years' time the insurance account, notwithstanding a yearly contribution by the Exchequer of over $900,000,000, will be "in the red" to the extent annually of $1,800,000,000, which the taxpayer will have to find; and this takes no account of the coming cost to the Exchequer of children's allowances and the national medical service.

The scheme which Aneurin Bevan has devised for this service has not yet been presented to Parliament, but its outlines are pretty well known. Hospitals, except those attached to universities as teaching centers, will be nationalized under the control of regional boards; local authorities will be required to promote public health centers where all will enjoy free medical treatment from a pool of state-salaried doctors; doctors who prefer to go on working from their own surgeries will draw official salaries for their "public" work—that is, attendance, gratis, on nationally insured patients—but will be allowed to have private fee-paying patients, if they can find any when practically the whole population is entitled to free doctoring. This is an odd, typically British transition from professional private enterprise to *étatisme*, but it may work—provided always that the state salaries are liberal and sufficiently up-graded in poor industrial districts to correct the present tendency of doctors to settle, naturally enough, in well-to-do districts.

To complete this legislative *tour d'horizon*, there is also the Investment Control bill—not a very constructive measure. As forecast in this correspondence, it perpetuates in the main the "negative" restrictions on new issues of share capital exercised during the war by the Treasury. The Chancellor will have power to guarantee interest and principal on "development" loans up to a maximum of $200,000,000 a year. This is an innovation, but the sum is clearly inadequate to offset capitalist underinvestment in a slump. We are still a long way from having a National Investment Board as the main provider of new capital. Labor back-benchers were disappointed by the bill, but it has to be recognized that so long as such a big sector of the national economy is in the hands of private enterprise, the provision of capital exclusively by a public board would be illogical and difficult to work.

All in all, it is fair to say that the government's legislative program is regarded by its supporters both in Parliament and in the constituencies as a satisfying instalment of pledges fulfilled. The increased Labor majority at the Preston by-election points to general public approval of domestic policy. It is in respect to foreign policy that there is increasing bewilderment and dismay. Concern was loudly voiced from Labor back benches last week when the Foreign Office selected Cadogan and Peterson for the United Nations' headquarters and the Moscow embassy. There is a widespread feeling that we are maintaining as our diplomatic agents in a score of capitals the type of man who is temperamentally and by training quite unfitted to speak for a British Labor movement or to gauge realities in the post-war world. But these criticisms are only a reflection of general labor uneasiness over Bevinism in the approach to foreign affairs.

Your correspondent would plead with readers of *The Nation* to be fair in their judgment of the British Foreign Secretary. He was utterly sincere when he told his party last summer that he thought of foreign policy in terms of the economic needs of the common man. That is still his real way of thinking, and during this session of the Assembly in London he worked hard to get the UNO to turn its attention from diplomatic sparring over sovereignties and prestige to the practical issues of food

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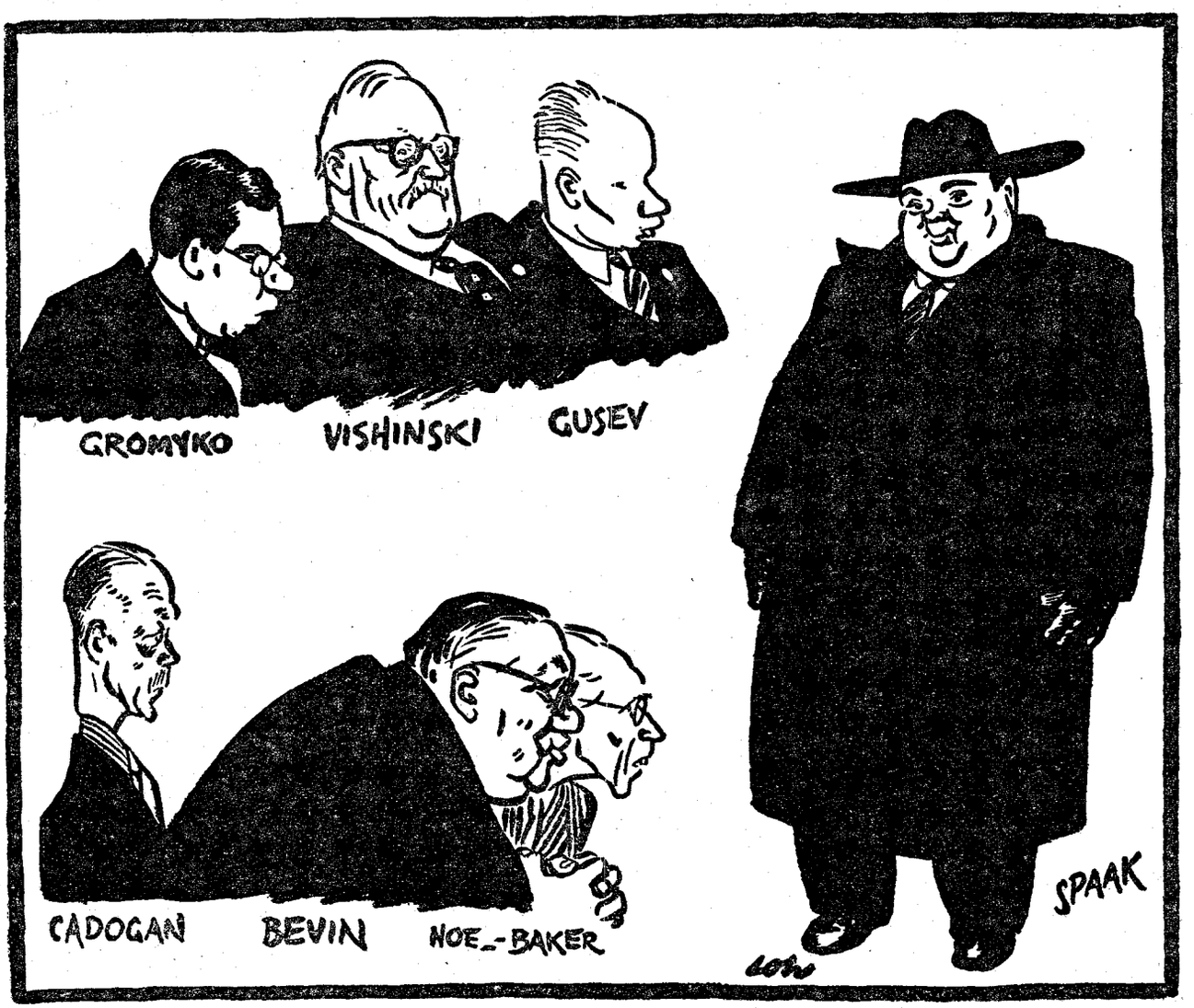
scarcity and the repairing of a shattered world economy. He can hardly be blamed for "standing up for his rights" against Vishinsky in the unedifying squabble over Greece. Having decided, as well they might, to raise the Greek issue as a *tu quoque* retort to British criticism of their "interference" in Iran, the Russians spoiled their case and played into Bevin's hands by asking the Security Council to convict Britain of planning deliberately to use Greece as a base for warlike operations. The real case against British policy in Greece—that we have in fact aborted a revolution and temporarily buttressed in power a reactionary, chauvinistic minority—never had to be answered. Bevin got, in effect though not in form, the "not guilty" verdict he wanted.

This, however, settles nothing—least of all the future of Anglo-Russian relations either across the stricken body of Germany or in the tangle of Middle East tensions. The real count against Ernest Bevin is that he is losing sight of the economic needs of the common man in his passionate determination that Britain shall take the lead in selling the world social democracy in competition with the Soviet version of socialism. Pursuit of that aim is leading him far in the gentle art of making enemies—by "toughness" toward the governments of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslokavia, and Poland ("I look forward to the end of these police states" will be long remembered) and by clinging to the continuity of Churchillian policy in Athens, to say nothing of Indonesia. And it is getting him involved with queer friends—monarchists in Greece, General Anders and his émigré Polish army in Italy, the discredited ragtag and bobtail of underground oppositions in Central Europe, all dreaming of a third, anti-Bolshevik, world war under the flag of the Vatican.

There is still hope that Bevin will see where his attitude is taking him. In any case, he and his Cabinet colleagues are likely to be brought sharply up against the hard facts which stand in the way of Palmerstonian policies when they meet trade-union executives at a conference on man-power schedules in early March. The unions will emphasize that if domestic reconstruction and vitally needed exports are not to be crippled by the shortage of labor, Britain's armed forces must be reduced from their present 3,000,000 to something like the pre-war figure of 500,000. The cost of foreign commitments must be cut according to the cloth available; and Foreign Secretary Bevin, be it noted, is also still chairman of the Cabinet's man-power committee.



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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Distributive Justice

IN ONE of the most striking passages of his statement to the House Banking and Currency Committee on February 18, Chester Bowles said: "Let me say at the outset that there is probably far more fairness of income distribution in our economy today than at any previous point in our peacetime history. Let me say further that if we strive now to work out all the unfairnesses which remain we shall only succeed in blowing up our entire anti-inflation program with resulting disaster to everybody."

Mr. Bowles went on to substantiate these remarks by examining in detail the position of the various producer groups. Labor, he pointed out, had suffered a sharp decline since V-J Day in take-home pay; and "it is take-home pay that buys the groceries and pays the rent." In most cases the new wage increases do not fully compensate for that setback and certainly do not give "a new advantage to labor. . . . They are designed rather to maintain something approaching the balance we had in war time." As for business, said Mr. Bowles, only a fraction of industry was seriously disturbed by reconversion difficulties, and with an unlimited demand for goods the outlook was very bright. He noted as significant the maintenance of dividends in the fourth quarter of 1945 at the same level they reached in the fourth quarter of 1944 and the fact that managerial salaries have suffered no cutbacks. The farmers also have fully held their war-time gains in the past six months. Contrary to expectations, there has been no falling off in the demand for farm products, prices have risen rather than declined, and allowing for seasonal adjustments, farm cash income in December was 2 per cent higher than in August.

All this seemed to me a well-reasoned and convincing plea for sharing the income pie as equitably as possible. Naively perhaps, I was therefore somewhat shocked to find the *Wall Street Journal* bursting with editorial indignation at Mr. Bowles's concern about a fair distribution of income. Snatching from its context the first of the two sentences I have quoted above, the paper commented: "Here, we think, is the story of Mr. Bowles and price control. He seems to conceive it is its function to operate so that income distribution will meet his ideas of fairness. . . . Mr. Bowles is chattering the language of the cult that wants to clamp on the country a managed economy and to distribute income according to its own preconceived pattern of justice. In other words, it is not price control from which the economy suffers; it is the attempt to use price control to reshape the social system."

Any unprejudiced reader of Mr. Bowles's words would agree, I think, that they afford not the slightest evidence to support the charge that he is out to change the social system. On the contrary, since his whole emphasis is on stability and balance, he appears to be seeking to save the social system from the strains that would be put upon it were the pattern of distribution to be violently disturbed, rewarding some groups in the community while penalizing others. It is the *Wall Street Journal*, the National Association of Manufacturers, *et al.* who are the real revolutionaries. They want to sweep away all controls; they want prices to be determined by what the traffic can bear; they want to cash in on the greatest sellers' market in history.

Of course they don't put it so baldly. They say that the way to bring about a balance between supply and demand, and so to restrain inflationary pressures, is to lift the controls that thwart the burning desire of industry to produce. Abolish price ceilings, they urge, give business the stimulus of increased profits, and goods will pour into the market. True, the cost of living will rise, but in the long run competition will correct the situation.

If the supply-demand situation were perfectly elastic, so that each rise in price of a commodity acted both to increase its supply and to cut off a further segment of demand, this argument would have greater validity. But such a situation exists only in old-fashioned textbooks on economics; in real life there is always some "friction" to prevent this smooth working of the market mechanism, and today that friction is a very potent factor. For one thing there is a world shortage of many commodities the supply of which cannot be rapidly enlarged no matter how high prices are raised. On the demand side, too, high prices may well prove a very inefficient brake on consumption. There is in this country a huge reserve of liquid assets in the hands of individuals; so that potential purchasing power is far greater than current income. Rising prices would cause some people to draw on their savings in order to maintain their standard of living. Others, alarmed at the declining value of their savings in terms of goods, would rush to buy whatever they could lay hands on regardless of cost.

The result would be that accumulated war-time reserves, which might play so important a part in stabilizing the future economy, would be largely transferred to those who owned the supply of goods and could exact scarcity prices for them. Eventually, of course, demand would be checked, not because consumers were satiated but because they had exhausted their ability to buy. Then there would be an appearance of abundance; plenty of butter in the stores, perhaps at $3 a pound, but none on the bread of millions. At this stage we would expect prices to begin to fall, but since falling prices discouraged production, employment would decline also. Factories would shut down, profits would be diminished, but business, particularly big business, would not be seriously harmed, for it knows how to reap a harvest from scarcity of jobs as well as scarcity of goods. It would have its liquid funds accumulated during the inflation, and as the depression deepened and prices collapsed, it would have the satisfaction of knowing that the purchasing power of those funds was being steadily enhanced.

This is the situation which Mr. Bowles is seeking to prevent, and business men who can see farther than next year's balance sheet would be wise to help him. For if they take the short view, if they insist on grabbing while the grabbing is good, if they join the editorial sages of Wall Street in crying, "To hell with *distributive justice*," they may find *retributive justice* awaiting them at the bottom of a not too distant depression.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

Paris, February 21

BEFORE we landed in France the passenger list of the S. S. Argentina had given us some advance indication of the kind of Europe we were going to find. With the tourist season on the Atlantic not yet open, there was scarcely a person aboard who was not traveling on a special mission: members of relief organizations who had already been in Austria, Poland, and the Balkans and told frightful stories of the misery they had seen there; Allied officials, more alert to the danger of a fascist revival than I had expected but with no idea of what to do about it; diplomats exchanging choice bits of international gossip; French business men angrily berating their government for too much Socialist planning and for not allowing them to invest all their dollar assets in private—and profitable—commercial ventures.

But the travelers who captured my imagination were two young Latin Americans, a writer and a painter, bound for Paris. They awakened in me memories of the day when, just out of college in Spain, I too had set out for the intellectual center of the universe. Throughout the war I had stubbornly maintained that, despite reports to the contrary, Europe was far from finished and would still astonish the world by its revolutionary, creative capacities; now I found the enthusiasm of these young artists refreshing and encouraging. Perhaps they were not as familiar with the actual situation in Europe as some of the others aboard who had all sorts of data at their fingertips about the food shortage, the lack of transport, the increase in infant mortality, the spread of crime and vice. But they had a deeper and, I believe, a truer insight into the Europe that is emerging out of the great disaster.

The first paper I bought in Le Havre headlined the results of the Belgian elections. Though the Christian Socialists won 93 of the 202 seats in the new Chamber of Deputies, the Socialists and Communists together still outnumbered them. The Communists registered a considerable gain, nearly tripling the representation they had in the 1939 Chamber. But it is not by number alone that the Belgian elections must be judged. Actually they mark a strengthening of the left's position against the return of King Leopold; moreover, it is almost certain that out of the present ministerial crisis will come a government again based on collaboration between Socialists and Communists with a popular mandate to continue the policy of nationalization begun by the Cabinet of the Socialist ex-Premier, Achille van Aacker.

In Paris the future status of the press is the subject of heated discussion these days. The omission of the traditional phrase, "the freedom of the press is guaranteed," from the draft for the new constitution's chapter on the rights of man provoked furious debate, but not a single voice was raised openly in defense of the old 1939 concept of a free press. The right is attempting very subtly to sabotage the Constituent Assembly's efforts to end the scandal of pre-war years when the big dailies, in the name of freedom of the press, were selling out their country for whatever price big business or Nazi agents were ready to pay. The France of today is not so easily deceived by eloquent lip-service to the rights of man. Rights, yes, but not the right to destroy freedom, not the right of fascists to reconstitute their press and spread their poisonous ideologies again. It is interesting to watch the more conservative papers making skilful use of the argument that any restriction on freedom of the press will create an unfavorable reaction in the United States and make Léon Blum's mission more difficult. "If you go left," they intone day after day, "you will get no financial support from America; France will be condemned to starve." Yet in the face of their dire warnings, France, and with it all Europe, is moving steadily left.

Confidence in Europe's recuperative powers does not imply ignorance of the indescribable difficulties that must be overcome. The road to economic and political recovery is still a very long and a very hard one. Two world wars have stripped Europe of most of its wealth; what is much worse, they have wiped out 80 per cent of its young, strong, able men. The losses have been so enormous that the most determined efforts to repair them seem to leave the gaps as big as before.

The French miners, for instance, have done a remarkable job since last fall, and Maurice Thorez can speak with justified proletarian pride, as he did yesterday, about "winning the battle of coal." But despite the extraordinary feat of production accomplished by the underfed men in the pits, France still lacks two-thirds of the coal needed to carry out its plans for reconstruction. The food situation has, on the whole, improved in the last eight months; however, in the six weeks since the devaluation of the franc, the black market has shown a fresh burst of activity, and prices, figured even on a dollar basis, have soared to a new high. The lack of foodstuffs is so acute that even if supplies were increased as much as 100 per cent, the improvement would scarcely be noticeable.

In addition to the material difficulties, there is the ever-present anxiety about the ability of the Allies to work together in the years to come and the clear conviction that without Allied unity every major problem of reconstruction will become infinitely more complicated. In that regard the outcome of the first UNO session in London has had an encouraging effect in France. The French had been so disheartened by the failure of the Foreign Ministers' conferences that the simple fact of seeing the United Nations Organization beginning to function makes them breathe easier.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NEW GEORGIA

Sometimes as I woke, the branches beside the stars
Were to me, as I drowsed, the bars of my cell;
The creepers lumped through my blanket, hard as a bed
In the old ward, in the time before the war—

In the days when, supperless, I moaned in sleep
With the stripes of beating, the old, hard, hampering dream
That lay like the chains on my limbs; till I woke
To a world and a year that used me, when I had learned to obey.

By the piece with the notch in the stock, by the knife from the States,
The tags' chain stirs with the wind; and I sleep
Paid, dead, and a soldier. Who fights for his own life
Loses, loses: I have killed for my world, and am free.

RANDALL JARRELL

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THOSE who were present during World War I will remember the shock of the news that the Library of the University of Louvain had been destroyed. Today, having lived through World War II, they will find it hard to believe that Louvain was the only major library destroyed between 1914 and 1918.

This fact is noted at the beginning of an extraordinarily interesting—and sobering—article in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for January 5 on The Devastated Libraries of the World, in which Milton Edward Lord and Kenneth R. Shaffer present a survey, necessarily incomplete, of the destruction of The Book since 1933, when the Nazis lit their first literary bonfire. As the authors point out, the second destruction of Louvain in 1940, with its 900,000 volumes, was only an incident in World War II. In Poland 70 per cent of all libraries were destroyed, and here is a description, taken from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, of the end of the great Jewish Theological Seminary Library in Lublin.

> For us it was a special pride to destroy the Talmudic Academy, which has been known as the greatest in Poland. . . . We threw out of the building the great Talmudic Library and carted it to the market. There we set fire to the books. The fire lasted for twenty hours. The Jews of Lublin were assembled and cried bitterly. Their cries almost silenced us. Then we summoned the military band, and the joyful shouts of the soldiers silenced the sound of the Jewish cries. . . .

The irony is that the Nazi bonfires marked the beginning of a saga of destruction in which, in the end, all nations became involved. The publishing area of London was almost totally destroyed in 1941—with its millions of volumes and, more crucial, priceless plates and matrices from which new printings might be made. In 1945 another great publishing center, Leipzig, was virtually wiped out by Allied bombs. And this sequence of deliberate destruction and inevitable counter-destruction was repeated throughout the world.

In many cases libraries which were evacuated to "safe" places "were destroyed as completely by rain, mold, rats, mice, and insects as they ever could have been by bomb or artillery fire." The authors cite the story of the desperate and futile attempt of the Reverend James Edward Haggerty to save the books of two libraries in Mindanao; and the fact that it was a small and remote collection makes the tale the more significant. First the books were taken to a rectory in a mountain town, where a third of them were destroyed by Japanese bombs. The rest were thereupon conveyed by pack animals and sledges to a wooded canyon and stored in bamboo houses built for the purpose. For two years two boys tried to protect them from the elements. Later, because dampness was taking its toll, the books were placed in three bamboo houses constructed on drier ground. In July, 1944, Mr. Haggerty walked more than two hundred miles to inspect his precious hoard. Japanese patrols had found and burned two of the scattered houses. The third had collapsed from the weight of the books, and a month of sun and rain had completed their ruin.

The authors make the statement that the destruction of books and libraries in World War II probably exceeded by many times that of all previous wars and catastrophes. That statement should be inscribed in a prominent place in the permanent meeting hall of the UNO.

THE SENSE OF AMERICA, in all its variations, geographical and other, seldom rises in one's habit-dulled consciousness without a strong direct stimulus. Some years ago a friend brought me a piece of sagebrush straight from my native West. Its smell and texture evoked, with a vividness no mere memory could induce, a life and landscape so alien to the life and landscape of New York that I ended by wondering which, if either, was real.

A young relative from Iowa who blew in the other evening stirred up similarly unsettling vibrations of wonder, amusement, and mild despair. We have forbears in common and therefore a strong family feeling. For the rest we are as many worlds apart as our forbears were before they somehow got together in Western America. The fact that our family history duplicates, except for names and places, that of most Americans only makes it all the more a tall tale which will continue to seem tall and strange, I suppose, until the American consciousness has assimilated its wild assortment of heritage and history.

The young relative, who has been in the army half a year, told me with disarming gusto that his pals, whom he had momentarily deserted to pay me a visit, had never heard of *The Nation* and had bet him fifty cents that there was no such magazine. I furnished him with proof, and I hope he spent the fifty cents wisely.

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What gave the encounter its final fillip was the news that this young soldier, who must be eighteen but looks much younger, who has had six months of basic training and orientation and speaks of both in exactly the same unengaged tone, was on his way to occupy Germany. He is bound to have a personal success; the children in whatever German town he invades will find his gifts and his good-will irresistible. He has a quite unconscious air of self-confidence, despite his youthfulness, and at the same time a readiness to be accommodating and friendly which may have their incalculable effects on Germans old and young. Still it doesn't seem quite enough.

I WAS VERY HAPPY to have a letter from a 'teen-ager seconding my remarks about mass-production entertainment in the issue of February 9.

> I wish you to know that I am grateful to you for writing the article. I am only seventeen, but for the past year I have been increasingly exasperated with the condition of American culture of which you speak. . . .
>
> Somerset Maugham said somewhere that when a writer has something bothering him, writing about it helps, and maybe that works vicariously. Anyhow I'd like to thank you again for writing the article. I was beginning to think I was a picayune snob.

Perhaps I can make a bloc with the youngest generation.

by Ella Winter
I SAW THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE
"HERE are the questions one asks about Russia, and some living and personal answers."
—San Francisco Chronicle
"A report minus special pleading . . . she reports with camera-like fidelity what she saw of the Russian people . . . Hers is the sort of book we need most desperately."
—New York Post
At all bookstores • $3.00
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON
L B

★ *Buy Bonds—To Keep* ★

SEVERAL PEOPLE, I'm told, have called up the publishers of "Forever Amber" and tried to order a copy of "Always Opal," the book referred to in Elmer Rice's new play, "Dream Girl." One stone, I suppose, is as nourishing as another. . . . I am further informed that salesmen in drugstores are occasionally asked for one of those pink toothbrushes. Advertising is its own reward.

The Anglo-American Paradox

RIVAL PARTNERS: AMERICA AND BRITAIN IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By Keith Hutchison. The Macmillan Company. $2.

ECONOMIC theory," says Mr. Hutchison, "is one thing; the economic facts of life are another. They include habits, conventions, psychological attitudes, and political pressures." He then proceeds to give us as clear and lucid an account of the facts of life governing the relations between Britain and America as one would ever care to see. Mr. Hutchison is in an especially favorable position to do so because he was born and educated in Britain, lives in America, is married to an American, and has two children —one British, one American. A better-balanced diet for objective reporting would be hard to find.

First he outlines the very fair degree of cooperation between the two great powers during the war. Had Roosevelt and Churchill not formed such a mutual-admiration society, would cooperation have been so good?

Then he describes with a minimum of theory and a maximum of fact the economic shape of post-war America and post-war Britain, pausing only briefly to sideswipe Professor Hayek. While the amount of state intervention and control is perhaps equally advanced in the two countries—although along somewhat different lines—the Americans feel sinful about it, and the British do not. To believe in what one is actually doing is always an advantage. The British big business man is pretty well up to date on the facts of life; among American tycoons there is a cultural lag of a good twenty years. To talk in the same day to a member of the National Association of Manufacturers and then to a member of the Federation of British Industries is an experience suitable for study in a psychological clinic. The British have been bombed. We have not. Maybe that accounts for it.

Britain is a country poor in natural resources, and she must indeed export—to pay for goods for her people, and raw materials for her factories—or die. She drained her wealth far more heavily in the war than we did. The necessity for planning her economic future is a little more immediate—but not much more. We are accustomed to even gaudier depressions.

All these comparative matters Mr. Hutchison looks into with a great deal of acumen. He makes few generalizations without cases to support them, thus keeping his communication line to the reader always clear. He then describes the post-war areas of conflict between the two countries. They are many and complicated, including rivalries over air lines, merchant marine, oil, cocoa, and other commodities. Each item is packed with dynamite.

Mr. Hutchison gives one of the clearest expositions of

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LET'S SETTLE THE GM STRIKE BUT NOT BY HUNGER

THESE ARE ACTUAL CASES—

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN: There are seven children in the family of this striking General Motors worker. Sickness has depleted his savings. He faces foreclosure of his home. There is no money for food.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA: A widowed mother of three needs $10 for shoes for the children, and a minimum of $8.50 a week for food.

FLINT, MICHIGAN: An expectant mother, wife of a veteran, was refused entrance to a hospital till $56 was paid.

200,000 employees of General Motors have been on strike for more than eleven weeks. Day-to-day expenses — food, rent, medicine — are eating up their savings and their war bonds. 40,000 families have already exhausted every penny they had put by. —The need gets bigger every day. These people must have help just to live.

WHY CAN'T THE UNION HELP THEM?

William H. Davis, ex-chairman of the War Labor Board, and ex-Economic Stabilizer, told the Senate why on January 16th. No union, he said, can support families during a mass strike. $10 a week to 200,000 men means $2,000,000 a week. The union doesn't have it.

DON'T THE MEN GET GOVERNMENT RELIEF?

In 95.8% of the cases — NO. The few communities that allow relief pay about enough to feed the children — no more. Nothing for emergencies.

WILL YOU HELP US?

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Bretton Woods that I have seen. He shows how this instrument is *not* a return to nineteenth-century free-trade principles, that by raising government control to an international level many of the valuable characteristics of multilateral, three-corner trading can hopefully be recaptured.

He brings us right to the threshold of the British loan, now before Congress. All the relevant background for the loan is sketched in. The final terms unfortunately did not come out before the book went to press.

Will the loan, if it goes into force, be successful? Many doubt it, and Mr. Hutchison gives the reasons. Many Britons are afraid—with some reason—that it will do Britain more harm than good. Many Americans are afraid—with less reason—that it will be throwing good money after bad. There is a great paradox involved which may be insoluble.

The paradox is this: In exchange for the loan the British agree to leave the protection of the sterling bloc, give up bilateral deals and blocked pounds, and return to multilateral trading. In one sense they are glad to do this, for the British invented free trade. But in a realistic sense they are scared stiff. If the United States falls into a deep depression, world trade is bound to shrink seriously, leaving the British high and dry. London, watching the antics of the N. A. M., is terrified that after a brief boom depression will surely come. It seems that "while the idea for full employment is making progress, it remains a political football in Washington." (Witness the fate of S-380, the Murray full-employment bill.)

Many Britishers might not be too bitterly disappointed if Congress threw out the loan. The *Economist* might even rejoice, judging by its recent comments. Then Britain would not lose the shelter of the sterling bloc when the storm came. She would insulate herself from a depression to a degree. We would not be able to export unemployment to her shores—as we can do under the loan.

Mr. Hutchison cannot resolve this paradox. Only history can do that.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Van Doren's Dryden

ONE OF THE FEW PIECES of definitive literary criticism written in this country during the present century, Mark Van Doren's "John Dryden: A Study of His Poetry" (Holt, $3), is now reprinted twenty-five years after its original publication. The author has taken advantage of the resetting to remove the "clichés of qualification" which it seemed to him discreet to employ when the work was first composed as a doctoral dissertation. His enthusiasm for Dryden as a poet of power remains as strong or stronger than ever. Indeed, Mr. Van Doren implies that an appreciation of Dryden is a test of a sound appreciation of poetry in general, and that only when men turn away from the humanities and allow poetry to decline into a plaything of cults will Dryden be neglected. His extended discussion of all aspects of the poet's art goes far to validate his contention. He demonstrates, not that Dryden was a faultless writer, since his failings are sometimes spectacular, but that he was a great writer in that his conception of poetry began with a professional concern for the craftsmanship of verse. The artist is known by his love of the instrument. Dryden possessed among other capacities a fine ear for melodious numbers and used his command of verbal music as a source of poetic power. Out of sweetness came his strength, a strength essentially masculine.

Mr. Van Doren has explored the bases of Dryden's power with an industry steadily illuminated by good sense. His book is packed with ordered information, none of which is superfluous to his intention. An impressive number of thumbnail dissertations could be drawn from his pages on such topics as seventeenth-century aesthetics as illustrated in poetry, painting, and music, "characters" in literature, oratory and poetry, English Pindaric odes, the art of translation, poetic diction, and the like. His critical judgments tend to take the form of felicitous metaphor, as Dryden's also are apt to do. Thus in comparing the two masters of Augustan verse he remarks with neat discrimination: "Pope lurks behind his poetry; Dryden stands well forward, flush with his page and speaking with an honest voice if not always with an honest heart."

On the first appearance of this assured masterpiece of criticism T. S. Eliot declared: "It is a book which every practitioner of English verse should study." The poetry of the last quarter-century has been the poorer in that his advice has not been taken. Had it been heeded we might now be rediscovering the lost dignity of narrative verse and the lost art of poetic melody.

GEORGE F. WHICHER

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The Realists and Peace

IT IS ALWAYS A PLEASURE to come across the work of Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association. "The Four Cornerstones of Peace (Whittlesey House, $2.50) is not merely competent but distinguished in thought and style. This is an ideal compendium for the citizen—not necessarily a student of world politics—interested in security and justice. It gives a very clear and sober account of the meetings at Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, Chapultepec, and San Francisco. Nearly one-half is devoted to the official text of the main documents.

But no book on such a subject can be wholly objective. Mrs. Dean pleads with the American voter to support a policy of peace through international organization. I agreed with her long before she was born, and every year confirms me in the faith. But the work reflects the tragic confusion of the liberal mind at the present hour. Yalta was not "a cornerstone of peace." Justified as an act of war, as part of the Allies' grand strategy, it was secret diplomacy and power politics of the most outrageous kind. If we must leave the atomic bomb behind, so must we also transcend the method of Yalta, continued at Potsdam. Between the two San Francisco appears in an ambiguous light.

The American public will not indefinitely submit to "secret covenants secretly arrived at." When we rebel, Russia will justly claim that it has been double-crossed. The sequel is easy to forecast.

Mrs. Dean uses as an epigraph a stanza from the famous "People's Anthem," by Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law rhymer. A hundred years ago the masses, represented then by the Chartists, wanted a "people's peace," open, fair, and fraternal. The realists had their way. The masses still feel the same; the governments and most of the intelligentsia are still realistic. Mrs. Dean properly urges us to fight on. What she does not tell us is that one of the things we have to fight and destroy is the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam, and whatever trace of it may be found in the San Francisco Charter.

ALBERT GUERARD

Tennessee Williams

"27 WAGONS FULL OF COTTON" is a collection of short dramatic sketches by Tennessee Williams (New Directions, $3.50). Like his first Broadway play they reveal an indisputable but very tentative talent which so far has proved unequal to the task of solid construction on any extended scale. "The Glass Menagerie" depended for its effect almost exclusively upon one substantial portrait study, and the short pieces in the present volume tend to be monologues made to look like plays by the simple device of providing the speaker with one or more listeners or "feeders." Considered merely as portraits, several of them—notably "The Last of My Solid Gold Watches" and "This Property Is Condemned"—are quite striking, but there is little evidence of any ability to develop a real story or to reveal a character through action. Mr. Williams seems to have an especial fondness for setting his scene in hovels, cheap boarding-houses, or brothels and for choosing as his principal figure some character just on the point of ultimate dissolution. The

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result is not only a certain monotony but also a strong suggestion of that romantic pessimism which revels in disease and degradation spiced with sexual depravity. If the pieces in this volume were written before "The Glass Menagerie," then he may be said to have made some progress in the direction of substantial achievement. If they are recent work, then there seems grave danger that his talent is merely a minor one.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ANTIGONE" (Cort Theater) is adapted from the adaptation made by Jean Anouilh, played in Paris during the occupation, and more or less put over on the German censors. Though acted in modern costume, the scene was left in ancient Greece, and little essential change was made in either the action or even the motives. In Sophocles's original the conflict is already that between the individual and the state, or, more precisely, between the laws decreed by a supreme secular authority and those of God and of nature. To transform it into a fable for the times, little more than a mere modernization of the terminology was necessary. Make Creon a rationalizing fascist dictator who justifies himself by arguing the need for an established order in the turbulent Greek states, make it clear that Antigone's insistence upon burying her brother springs from her conviction that necessity, the tyrant's plea, is never superior to the claims of fundamental human decency, and you get a play which the Germans could not and obviously did not fail to recognize as a discussion of the current situation.

Lewis Galantière's obviously skilful version—it is not called a translation—is acted by Katharine Cornell and Cedric Hardwicke in modern dress upon a stage bare except for its draperies and in one continuous act, which runs for a bit over an hour and a half. Horace Braham, serving as narrator-commentator, is the chorus compressed into one person, the dramaturgical method is Greek, not modern, and, indeed, even the order of the incidents follows fairly closely that of the Sophocles original; so that what one gets is something perhaps even closer to the Greek in form than it is in thought.

On the whole most of the reviewers seem not to have been very greatly pleased, and "Antigone" got a rather poor press. I find myself agreeing with many of the specific strictures made, but I seem to have been more interested and more moved by the whole than those of my colleagues whose reviews I have read. It is true, I think, that to make the guards neither like Greeks nor like S. S. men but like simple-minded American tough guys is probably a mistake. I agree that though Miss Cornell's performance is excellent—especially and as usual with her, pictorially excellent—acting honors probably go to Hardwicke, whose portrait of the icily reasonable dictator is a genuinely memorable one. Moreover, even at the risk of seeming pedantic, I might add that the modern playwright actually outdoes the Greek in decorum, since though of course Sophocles permits no deaths upon the stage he does have the body of Haemon brought in, and I wonder, difficult as such things are to manage properly, if some such presentation of the bodies might not have added the final scene which the play as it now stands does need. But all these are relatively minor matters. I found none of the play, except perhaps some of the very earliest scenes, uninteresting, and I found the interview between Creon and Antigone, which takes up perhaps a third to a half of the entire running time, both absorbing and moving. One of the boldest of the author's modifications of his text, that in which he makes Creon confess that he is using the dead brother merely as a politically useful scapegoat, seems to me very effective, and Antigone's retort at the climax of the debate is conclusive and tremendous. Creon has launched into a characteristic rhapsody in praise of vitality and the will to live. "Ah," interrupts Antigone, "if men were only animals, what a king you would be!"

Since the German censors could not have failed to recognize that the play was intended as a commentary upon the current situation one wonders why they permitted it at all. One wonders also if they would have permitted a revival of Shaw's "St. Joan," in which the same problem is discussed and in which, though the very presence of Jeanne d'Arc might have been thought intolerable, the claims of the central authority really come off rather better than they do in the American version of "Antigone." Obviously the Germans decided that they were willing to risk their case on the effectiveness of Creon's presentation of it, and a note in the present program helps make it understandable that they should have done so. The play as we now have it is not quite the play that was performed in Paris during the occupation. No Frenchman, Mr. Galantière assures us, could have come away feeling that Creon's argument was stronger than Antigone's, but, so he implies, a German might have felt otherwise, and in the American version Antigone's case has been somewhat built up, "not by taking anything away from M. Anouilh's Creon, but by adding something to his Antigone, his chorus, and his Haemon." Since a part of the interest in this American production is documentary and historical, I am not sure that Mr. Galantière would not have been wiser to give us the argument precisely as it was given in the French version.

Films

JAMES AGEE

ANYONE who wants to make creatively interesting movies in this country today gets stuck in one of three, or at the outside four, ways, all of them too familiar to require more than mention. If he works in Hollywood, it is unlikely that he will get more than a fraction of his best ability on to the screen; and that is not to mention the liability of resignation to compromise, and of self-deceit. If he works on his own, he is unlikely to get his films distributed or even sporadically shown; and that is not to mention either the difficulty of getting the money and equipment to make the movies or the liability of self-deceit in the direction of arrogance and artiness—the loss of, and contempt for, audience, which can be just as corrupting as its nominal oppo-

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site. If, on the other hand, the would-be artist goes abroad to work, he is likely to find, in future, that the advantages are not so clear by a good deal as they were in the past; and unless he is a very specialized—and perhaps also a very limited—artist indeed, he is certain to suffer as profoundly by a change of country as he would, if he were a writer, by a change of language. The fourth possibility is paralysis, or resignation to the practice of some more feasible art. Either of these is perhaps preferable to literal suicide, but not practically so as far as the movie artist and the movie art are concerned.

Maya Deren and Alexander Hammid have made three short films on their own. These are getting no kind of formal distribution, but they were shown recently in New York at the Provincetown Playhouse, and presumably will be shown again when and as that is possible. I can only suggest that those interested keep their ears open.

Of the three films one, which I have not seen, is called "A Study in Choreography for Camera." The other two, "Meshes of the Afternoon" and "At Land," can be roughly classified as "dream" films and also approach, as Parker Tyler has said, "a type of personal expression in cinema analogous to the lyric poem." Their quality seems to me to be impaired by Miss Deren's performance in the central roles, which strikes me as showing the emotional characteristics that make so much of "modern" dancing, for instance, not only unedifying to watch but radically mistaken and hostile in its relation to the nature of good art. There are many satisfactions of mood and implication and image in the movies, of kinds which are the unique property of the movie camera, and which are hardly even hinted in studio productions. Yet I cannot feel that there is anything really original about them—that they do anything important, for instance, which was not done, and done to an ill-deserved death, by some of the European avant-gardists, and especially by the surrealists, of the 1920's. At worst, in fact, they are solemnly, arrogantly, distressingly pretentious and arty. Nevertheless, I think they are to be seen, and that there is a good deal in them to be liked, enjoyed, and respected. I don't at all agree with Miss Deren that "reality," in its conventional camera sense, cannot be turned into a work of art without being turned also into a fantasia of the unconscious; but if you have to believe that in order to try to do it—which I doubt—then I am glad that she does. For I certainly believe that it is worth doing; and I know of nobody else in films, just now, who is paying any more attention to that great universe of movie possibility than to make safely conducted little tours of the border villages.

I must again postpone comment on several current films because none of them interest me as much as these. Meanwhile, with degrees of fervor ranging from able to take nourishment to unlikely to last out the night, I can recommend "Three Strangers," "Scarlet Street," and "Road to Utopia." I don't think there will be any trouble finding them.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE is, by now, a fair amount of understanding of what W. J. Turner calls the ambiguity of Mozart—the tensions in those delicate musical forms, the intensity and passion that are implicit in them. But there still is no comparable understanding of what might be called the duality of Schubert—the iron-like power that alternates with the relaxation. No work of Schubert is more familiar than the "Unfinished" Symphony; nothing is more obvious than the compactness and force of its first movement, the fact that it is one of the most extraordinary and effective pieces of large-scale construction in the symphonic literature; yet this does not result in as much as a qualifying clause in the prevailing idea of him as a lyricist without sustained constructive power, whose large forms are mere garrulously diffuse successions of pretty tunes. The occasional slackness and diffuseness certainly are part of the truth about Schubert; but there is little appreciation of the occasional integration and force that are the rest of that truth.

Tovey may write that the first movement of the C major Symphony has "more than Schubert's usual concentration" and its "development is conspicuously free from redundancy or digression," and that the conclusion of the work "is one of the greatest in all symphonic music." Ralph Bates, in his excellent book on Schubert, observing that "the symphony largely achieves its effects by sheer intoxication of persistent rhythms," may point out that in the first movement the opening subject liberates "a steely, racy rhythm," and "there must be no slackening of pace in pulseless transitions"; that in the scherzo "the second subject is introduced breathlessly, and at once its externals are stripped off, so that already in bar 41 the naked, scintillating ardor of string timbre is swinging up and down with enormous power," and "even this rhythmic form is later simplified so that the music rises and falls with immense suggestion of a shining piston crosshead and rod driving an exultant music through time and space"; that in the conclusion of the work "there is no slackening of pace as the triplet figure begins to create one of the most astonishing splendors of music," and "it is as if we were borne up on that pulsating atom of rhythm, above the world and out from its limits over the cold purity of universal space, as if we beheld the circling of worlds and the laws they manifest." And Toscanini may reveal similar perceptions in his performance of the work. But the prevailing notion of it is the one expressed by Brockway and Weinstock in "Men of Music": "But alas! it was again on the rock of development that Schubert foundered. After proving conclusively that he could write page after page of great symphonic music, he seems to have unfocused his attention on the extremely difficult business on hand, and to have lapsed into . . . irrelevant garrulousness. Thus, the C major concludes on a maundering, inconsequential note . . ." And Toscanini's performance has been criticized for its lack of Viennese relaxation.

An extraordinary example of the duality in Schubert's music is the first movement of the Piano Sonata Opus 78. Its tranquilly, spaciously meditative opening statement in G major establishes the mood of the entire exposition, which, after some increased liveliness and force, quiets down to last D major references to the opening statement that give implications of complete finality to the meditative tranquility. We are, then, entirely unprepared for what happens now in the development: the meditative opening statement, with the power it acquires now from being *ff* in G minor, from the tensions this creates in its rhythm, from the tensions in the imitations of this rhythm by bare octaves in the bass, from the eruptions of these octaves that carry the passage to a proclamation tremendous in its *fff* sonority and its sustained distentions. The tension is relaxed in a quiet interlude, only to be built up again in the same way to the same climax, and to be relaxed again in the same interlude; then

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the rhythm of the interlude is hammered out by treble and bass octaves in imitation with increasing intensity to a point where the music subsides into a long and poignant transition to the opening statement in G major, which reestablishes the mood of meditative tranquility for the recapitulation. And what is extraordinary about this example of the Schubert duality is the power in the development that is created out of, and resolved into, the tranquil meditation of the exposition and recapitulation.

Webster Aitken's recent performance of this movement realized its duality with magnificent effect: there were the proper quiet, spaciousness, plasticity, and grace in the exposition and recapitulation, the right power in the development; moreover—to consider Aitken the pianist as well as the musician—there was the beauty of the sound that he produced from the piano, whether in the subtle gradations from *p* to *f* of the exposition and recapitulation, or in the *ff's* and *fff's* of the development. As for the subsequent movements, I will repeat what I said when Aitken played the work a couple of years ago: I feel them to be more relaxed in pace than he does; but though I have this different conception of them I can enjoy what he makes of them in accordance with his own conception, and the evidence in this of his great musical intelligence and mastery of his instrument.

What started me on the long train of thought about Schubert's duality was this paragraph in Jerome D. Bohm's *Herald Tribune* review of Aitken's recital: "His discourse of Schubert's G major Sonata, one of the composer's most poetic products, and one which demands a blend of inwardness, tenderness, and ingratiating charm for convincing realization of the composer's message, was planned on too austerely monumental a scale, so that the music's inherent qualities were all but obliterated by the top-heavy dynamic gamut utilized."

CONTRIBUTORS

STUART CHASE is the author of "Where's the Money Coming From?" "Democracy Under Pressure," and "Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of Our Foreign Commerce."

GEORGE F. WHICHER, professor of English at Amherst College, is the author of "This Was a Poet," a critical biography of Emily Dickinson, and "Walden Revisited," a centennial tribute to Henry David Thoreau.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On Purchasing Power

Dear Sirs: "The General Motors Reply to U. A. W.-C. I. O. Brief" is interesting. It asks innocently enough, on page 39, ". . . how can more purchasing power be created simply by taking it away from business and investors and giving it to factory workers?" "Such a transaction," it says, "simply accomplishes a shift in purchasing power, not an expansion."

Mr. Anderson does not seem to realize that an expansion in purchasing power is accomplished only by a shift from those who have it but wouldn't use it to those who would use it if they had it. That shift is accomplished only by higher wages. Dormant purchasing power in the hands of business and investors is no purchasing power at all, whereas when it gets into the hands of workers, it not only becomes active but also acts as a stimulant to business expansion and investments.

DAVID DIAMOND

Detroit, February 15

Congratulations

Dear Sirs: May I congratulate you on Richard Neuberger's article, What Do the People Think of Truman? in *The Nation* for January 19.

I believe that Neuberger's evaluation of Truman's standing with the people is very sound. I was glad to see him point out that the source of Truman's strength continues to lie with the same people who elected Franklin Roosevelt as President four straight times. It is refreshing that the common people continue loyal to the liberalism of the New Deal.

The Nation would do well to keep Mr. Neuberger actively mixing with the people and reporting their thoughts on the great problems of the day.

E. W. MILL

Mt. Rainier, Md., February 8

They Must Live to Build

Dear Sirs: Franco may be nearing the end of the road—but unfortunately so are 120,000 Spanish Republicans in France. They are all that is left of approximately half a million persons who crossed the Pyrenees in 1939. What happened to the 380,000 who are missing? They died fighting fascism wherever they could. In Narvik alone, of 1,200 Spanish volunteers who landed with the French and British forces, 800 were casualties. Spanish Republicans fought in North Africa, Italy, and France; 15,000 Spanish Republicans were in the ranks of the French *maquis*.

Today the survivors, veterans of a ten-year war, are the most destitute of any group in Europe: 45 per cent of the Spanish Republicans who applied to the International Rescue and Relief Committee for aid during a two-month period were partially disabled by tuberculosis or other diseases, had lost an arm, leg, or eye, or were suffering from neglected wounds; 26 per cent were seriously maimed or disabled, or had severe chronic diseases such as advanced tuberculosis. They need money, food, clothing, medicines, to live. They must live to build and guarantee a free democratic republic in Spain. More than half of the I. R. R. C. French budget is spent each month for cash relief for Spanish refugees in France. In addition the I. R. R. C. distributes thousands of packages of food and clothing a month. A special department in the committee's Paris office is devoted to Spanish Republican relief.

The I. R. R. C. wants to do twice the job it has been doing. It can, if American liberals support its program. These people acted as we hope we would have acted if we had been there. Their lives are in our hands. Help the cause of Spanish Republican relief by joining the International Rescue and Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue, New York 17. Send clothing and food packages to the I. R. R. C. warehouse, 130 Orchard Street, New York 2.

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD,
Chairman, International Rescue and Relief Committee

New York, February 1

To Study Health Agencies

Dear Sirs: The National Health Council, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, is embarking upon an ambitious five-year program for which it is anxious to arouse public support and community action. This program stems from an extensive study of the voluntary health agencies of the nation, issued by the council last September, which disclosed considerable unevenness and weakness in their accomplishment.

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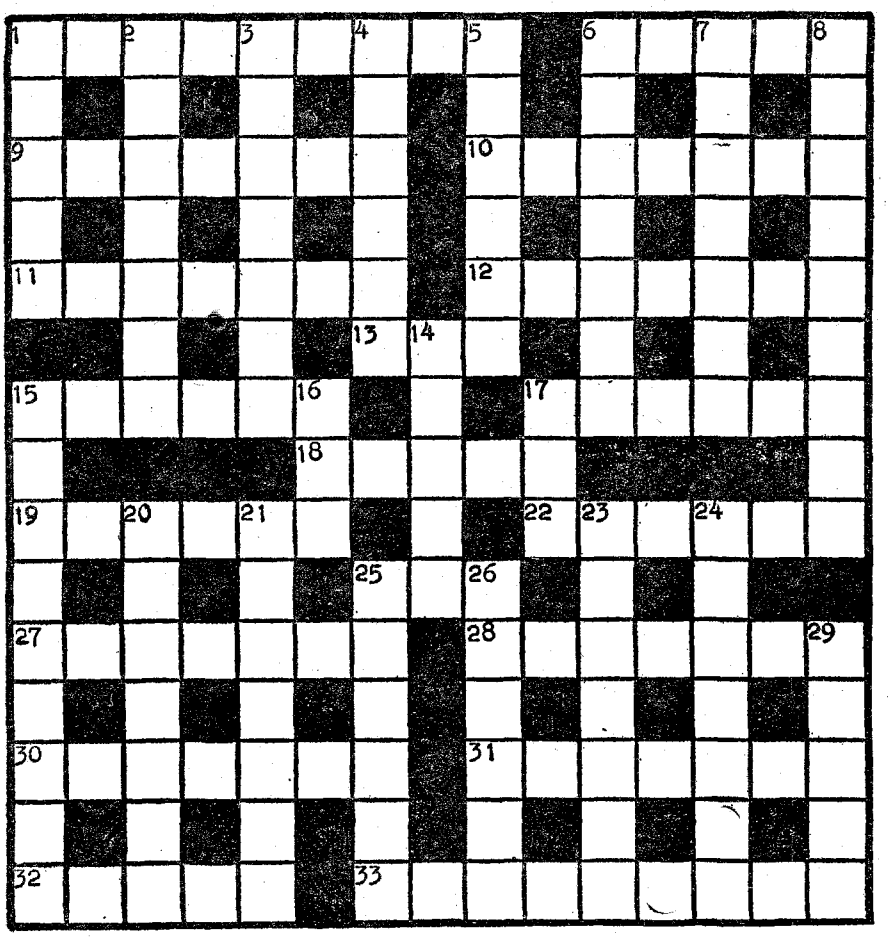
Crossword Puzzle No. 150

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 American political party which makes a coster mad
6 The flier produces a weapon
9 *Birds* wedded to Art
10 The card game for spinsters (two words, 3 & 4)
11 Tillers (anag.)
12 English philosopher with a heart of copper
13 "I'm glad to --- you well," as the caller remarked to the oculist
15 Crayon made from petals
17 So we go for a place in New York
18 He often departs by wings
19 A story in color
22 Poet William Bryant's middle name
25 "With a smile and a song" (hidden)
27 It is mean to behead a big peer
28 Not natives of Essen
30 Runs second to Waldorf in the hotel business
31 "The ------- round, the common task, Would furnish all we ought to ask"
32 Oil wells of a sort
33 An insincere politician perhaps, but a popular leader

DOWN

1 Rough sketch of a structure large enough to keep 500 afloat
2 What worn-out gloves tend to become
3 Heroine of *La Dame aux Camellias*
4 Female donkey? That's fine!
5 In a word, man and wife
6 Bird which literally leaves no stone unturned (hyphen, 3-4)
7 Intended
8 Duck for cover
14 One of the movie crowd
15 Part is answered, but only the first part
16 Kid
17 Denizen of the deep
20 What a big gun Thomas has become! (two words, 4 & 3)
21 Goes on board, where there's a bar amidships
23 Can't use 6 Across until you this it
24 Between flights
25 Every time the King played an ace he would trumpet
26 Bone in your throat? No, in your nose
29 Loves to clear up the mystery

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 149

ACROSS:—1 JINKS; 4 HEWER; 7 MICA; 9 UMPIRE; 10 MINCE; 12 SERB; 13 GAFF; 15 SEA VIEW; 17 STYLOS; 18 TITIPU; 19 ODE; 21 ROSSINI; 23 KICKOFF; 24 LYE; 26 GLOVES; 28 HEROIC; 31 SALUTES; 32 LIDS; 35 FOOD; 36 DYAKS; 37 GOLDEN; 38 TEAR; 39 ARDEN; 40 RUDGE.

DOWN:—1 JAMB; 2 NOISES; 3 SHELVED; 4 HAMLET; 5 WING; 6 REEF; 7 MOSES; 8 CURLY; 11 CASINO; 14 FLUFF; 15 SORITES; 16 WITCHES; 19 OIL; 20 EKE; 21 REGAL; 22 SHODDY; 25 YOUNGER; 27 SAMSON; 28 HEALED; 29 OZONE; 30 CIDER; 33 IDEA; 34 SAID; 35 FETE.

It is clear that teamwork is required. Accordingly, the National Health Council, with the generous support of a Citizens' Planning Committee of twenty-five public-spirited leaders, has just entered upon a program to weld our health societies more closely on the national, state, and local levels, and to bring about a greater unity in their health-planning and fund-raising efforts. A primary move will be to stimulate the organization of health councils in every city, representing an affiliation of all the voluntary societies doing health work in the community. This effort will be carried on in cooperation with the Community Chests and Councils.

We are anxious to reach the large number of your readers who work in or contribute to our voluntary health agencies. We shall succeed only as an informed and aroused public opinion will put through the needed changes.

LOUIS I. DUBLIN,
Chairman, Committee for the Study of Voluntary Health Agencies

New York, February 19

Atomic Parables

Dear Sirs: The conversation on the subject of atomic-bomb control seems to revolve around two points which in turn revolve about each other, neither ever arriving at any destination. These points, the value or otherwise of UNO and the search for "middle ground" between world government and national "sovereignty," are reminiscent of two very old stories which I should like to tell you, leaving the conclusion for you to draw.

Two Irishmen were witnessing their first airplane flight. Says one, "Dinny, now how would you like to be way up there with that flimsy thing?" To which Dinny replied, "A domb sight better than to be up there without it."

A Southern Negro was sent to deliver a mule a few miles away. Since it was already dark, the owner of the mule said, "Now, Sam, if you see a light coming down the road, you drive off to one side until it goes by." The next day after diligent search and inquiry, Sam was located in a hospital undergoing heavy repairs. The owner asked, "Sam, why didn't you do as I said, and drive off to one side until that light went by?" To which Sam offered, "Ah intended to do dat, Boss, but thah was *two* lights, and ah took aim for the middle." H. R. HADFIELD

Los Angeles, February 2

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